LIFE

OF

THOMAS PAIN,

THE

Author of the Seditious Writings,

ENTITLED

RIGHTS OF MAN.

BY FRANCIS OLDYS, *A.M.*

of the University of Pensylvania.

"Hear and improve," he pertly cries:
"I come to make all nations wise."

THE TENTH EDITION

626

LONDON

46
1. 8
834

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE general reception of this *authentic* and *impartial* Life has made a *tenth* edition neceſſary.

This republication furniſhes a proper opportunity to correct ſuch petty errors as are the uſual effects of pamphlet-writing and of pamphlet-printing. But, there were no errors in the incidents of the life: the facts had been diligently collected, and the circumſtances were preciſely ſtated.

Mr. Pain has noticed THE LIFE in his *ſecond part* of *Rights of Man:* yet, however urged by intereſt, or quickened by ſhame, he has not controverted one aſſertion, he has not explained one incident; he has confirmed ſome facts, without denying any: and, of

A conſe-

conſequence, he has admitted the *whole* of the following narrative to be *true*, which indeed could not be diſputed, without contradicting dates, and invalidating records.

But, his admirers have found an apology for him, though he could find none for himſelf. What ſignifies the *profligacy* of his *character*, ſay they, IF he write a good book? In all diſputes your IF is a word of wonderful accommodation. Before we can, however, determine, whether a book be good, or not, we always make ſome neceſſary inquiries. The moment we take up a volume, we aſk, Who is the author, that we may judge of his purpoſe from his character; whether he write as a cool diſquiſitor, or a furious incendiary: If it be a hiſtory, we inquire as to the *veracity* of the hiſtorian, that we may be ſatisfied how far we can truſt him: if it be a political treatiſe, we alſo aſk, if the writer have *probity*, that we may be convinced, whether he mean to inform, or delude.

delude. Now, Mr. Pain's writings are partly hiſtorical, and partly diſquiſitive. Of conſequence, the following narrative will furniſh anſwers to all thoſe previous inquiries; thereby enabling the reader, as it probably enabled the JURY, to determine, whether the author be an honeſt man, who means well, or an utter profligate, who intends miſchief; and whether his books, either as to their tendency, or their execution, merit the approbation, or the contempt of the reader; the ſhelf of the philoſopher, or the faggot of the hangman.

The univerſal voice of the country has finally determined with the JURY, who tried him, that PAIN and his books are proper objects of the people's indignation, and the hangman's faggots.

THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAIN, &c. &c. &c.

IT has been eſtabliſhed by the reiterated ſuffrage of mankind, that the lives of thoſe perſons, who have either performed uſeful actions, or neglected eſſential duties, ought to be written for examples to the paſſing age, and publiſhed for the inſtruction of future times.

Few men have exhibited a life more worthy of this notice, either as an example to be avoided by the preſent, or as a leſſon to be learned by after ages, than the character, whoſe actions we are now to relate, and whoſe writings we are about to review.

The

At Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, Thomas Pain* was born, on the 29th of January, 1736-7. His father was Joſeph Pain, the ſon of a ſmall but reputable farmer, a ſtay-maker by trade, and a Quaker by religion: his mother was Frances Cocke, the daughter of an attorney at Thetford, and of the eſtabliſhed church. Joſeph Pain was a reputable citizen, and though poor, an honeſt man: Frances Cocke was a woman of a ſour temper, and an eccentric character: and they were married in the pariſh of Euſton, near Thetford, on the 20th of June, 1734†. By this act of taking his wife from *the church*, Joſeph Pain was, according to the rules of the Quakers, at once expelled from their community. But, neither this irregularity, nor this expulſion, prevented that benevolent ſect from pitying his diſtreſſes through life, and relieving his wants as they were ſeen. The father and mother both lived to know their ſon's vices, to pity his misfortunes, to hear of his fame, but to partake little of his bounty‡. It aroſe probably from

* Our author's real name is *Pain*: his fictitious name is *Paine* with a final *e*: For, his father's name was *Pain*; and his own name was *Pain*, when he married, when he correſponded with the Exciſe, and when he firſt appeared in America: but, finding ſome inconvenience in his real name, or ſeeing ſome advantage in a fictitious one, he thus changed the name of his family.

† See the regiſter of the pariſh of Euſton of that date.

‡ Joſeph Pain was buried at Thetford on the 14th of November, 1786, aged 78.—Frances Pain, widow, was buried on the

from the tenets of the father, and from the eccentricity of the mother, that our author was never baptized *, though he was privately named; and never received, like true Chriſtians, into the boſom of any church, though he was indeed confirmed by the biſhop of Norwich: This laſt circumſtance was owing to the orthodox zeal of Miſtreſs Cocke, his aunt, a woman of ſuch goodneſs, that though ſhe lived on a ſmall annuity, ſhe imparted much of her little income to his mother, while he was not very ſolicitous about his aged parent, amidſt his cares for mankind.

Tom Pain was educated at the free-ſchool of Thetford, under Mr. Knowles, who, whatever were his merits, is ſaid to have never riſen to be maſter. The expence of young Pain's education was

the 18th of May, 1789, and recorded to be 94: but, as ſhe was born in January 1697-8, the pariſh regiſter makes her age to be greater than it was, though ſhe had far outlived the period which is aſſigned to mortals.

* As he was not baptized, the baptiſm of Thomas Pain is not entered on the pariſh books of Thetford. It is a remarkable fact, that the leaves of the two regiſters of the pariſhes of St. Cuthbert's and St. Peter's, in Thetford, containing the marriages, births, and burials, from the end of 1733, to the beginning of 1737, have been completely cut out. Thus, a felony has been committed againſt the public, and an injury done to individuals, by a hand very malicious and wholly unknown. Whether our author, when he reſided at Thetford in 1787, looked into theſe regiſters for his own birth; what he ſaw, or what he did, we will not conjecture. They contain the baptiſm of his ſiſter Elizabeth, on the 28th of Auguſt, 1738.

defrayed

defrayed chiefly by his father, with ſome aſſiſtance from his mother's relations. He was deemed a ſharp boy, of unſettled application; but he left no performances which denote juvenile vigour, or uncommon attainments. His ſtudies were directed, by his expectations, to what is uſeful, more than to what is ornamental: to reading, writing, and cyphering, which are ſo commodious to tradeſmen, rather than to claſſical knowledge, which is ſo decorous in gentlemen. With ſuch inſtruction, he left the ſchool, at the age of thirteen, in order to learn his father's trade. The buſineſs of a ſtay-maker he never liked, nor indeed any occupation, which required attentive diligence and ſteady effort. He, however, worked on with his father, fitting ſtays for the ladies of Thetford, during five years, except for a ſhort while that he laboured with a couſin, in making bodices for the girls of Shipdam, in the county of Norfolk *. But though he had thus been educated, according to the re-

* He indeed tells himſelf [*Rights*, part ii. p. 91] what ſurely cannot be true, "That when little more than ſixteen years of age, I entered on board the Terrible privateer, Capt. Death." He was certainly born on the 29th of January, 1736-7: He was, of courſe, ſixteen on the 29th of January, 1753. But, the war was not declared againſt France till the 17th of May, 1756, when he had entered into his twentieth year. The Terrible was fitted out probably in the ſummer of 1756, and was certainly captured in January 1757. Theſe facts evince how little Pain is to be truſted, when he does pretend to give a paſſage of his own life.

commendation of Mr. Locke; though a trade be better than houſe and land; yet the trade, and houſe, and land, are of no avail, if the perſon have no moral rectitude, nor any heedful induſtry.

At the age of nineteen, and in the year 1756, Pain adventured to London, the common receptacle of the ſilly and the wiſe, of the needy and the opulent, of the buſy and the idle. In this crowd, which confounds the greateſt with the leaſt, Pain cannot be diſtinguiſhed. It is, however, known, that he worked for ſome time with Mr. Morris, a very noted ſtay-maker, in Hanover-ſtreet, Long-Acre; making ſtays for the London ladies.

He was after awhile prompted by his reſtleſſneſs, to look for new proſpects at Dover, in 1758. For almoſt a twelvemonth Pain worked with Mr. Grace, a reſpectable ſtay-maker in that ancient cinque-port. Meantime, Miſs Grace either won the heart of Pain, or Pain attempted to win the heart of Miſs Grace. And the father was thereby induced to lend him ten pounds, in order to enable our adventurer to ſet up as a maſter ſtay-maker at Sandwich. Yet is it certain, that he neither married the lady, nor repaid the loan, though Mr. Grace be ſtill alive, and in no opulent circumſtances, to reclaim the debt.

At Sandwich he ſettled with that deſign in April, 1759. Biographers have been diligent to diſcover in what houſes famous men had lived at particular periods of their depreſſion, or their elevation. Of

Pain it can be only related, that he lodged with the widow Fiſher in the fiſh-market. The well-known antiquary of this ancient port has at length determined, that he was not the firſt who had here uſed the myſtery of ſtay-making. It is, however, certain, that he practiſed other arts. There is a tradition, that in his lodging he collected a congregation, to whom he preached as an independent, or a methodiſt. He alſo exerciſed his poetic talents. He wrote a ſhort poem on a perſon in gaol, who was reſtored to life and reaſon, after he had attempted ſelf-deſtruction. This unpubliſhed poem, which was corrected and improved by a perſon of much more judgment than the author, began in the following manner:

"With Liberty, each human pleaſure dies;
"All joy, all comfort, with the goddeſs flies *."

While thus occupied, he became enamoured of the perſon, or the property, of Mary Lambert, the waiting woman of the wife of Richard Solly, an eminent woollen-draper at Sandwich. Mary Lambert, who is ſtill praiſed by her own ſex as a pretty girl of modeſt behaviour, Pain married on the 27th of September, 1759 †. She was the daughter of James Lambert, who, with his wife Mary, came

* This poem, in its corrected ſtate, is in the hands of the writer of this life.

† In the church regiſter there is the following entry:—Thomas Pain, of the pariſh of St. Peter's, in the town of Sandwich, in Kent, bachelor, and Mary Lambert, of the ſame pa-

riſh,

came to Sittingbourne, as an exciſeman, ſome time before the year 1736; and who was ſoon after diſmiſſed for miſconduct. On this diſmiſſal he ſet up a ſhop, but made greater gains by acting as bum-bailiff of Sittingbourne: yet he died in bad circumſtances, on the 24th of May, 1753*; his wife dying about the ſame time, in a mad-houſe. The women of Sandwich, to this hour, expreſs their ſurpriſe, *that ſo fine a girl ſhould have married ſo old a fellow:* yet, Mary was only a little more than twenty-one†; while Thomas had only paſſed twenty-two. The fact is, that our adventurer has always appeared to female eyes a dozen years older than he was, owing to the hardneſs of his features, or to the ſcars of diſeaſe.

Marriage is the great epoch of a man's life. Pain was now to maintain his wife and family by his trade. The tradition of Sandwich ſtill repeats, that he expected a fortune on his marriage, which he never found. In expectation there are doubtleſs degrees of compariſon. A man beginning

riſh, ſpinſter, were married in this church, by licence, this 27th day of Sept. 1759, by me WILLIAM BUNCE, Rector.
In the preſence of
THOMAS TAYLOR, THOMAS PAIN,
MARIA SOLLY, MARY LAMBERT.
JOHN JOSLIN.

* The Pariſh Regiſter of Sittingbourne, of that date.

† Mary, the daughter of James and Mary Lambert, was baptized on the 1ſt of January, 1738. See the pariſh regiſter of Sittingbourne.

life, as a ſtay-maker, on ten pounds of borrowed money, has other hopes and other fears, than men of vaſt wealth and unbounded expectancy. He certainly was diſappointed both in his pleaſure and his profit: and diſappointment has a ſad effect on the human conſtitution. Two months had hardly elapſed, when Pain's ill uſage of his wife became apparent to the whole town, and excited the indignation of ſome, with the pity of others. Influenced by the genuine goodneſs of the Engliſh character, Mrs. Solly relieved the diſtreſſes of her old favourite with conſtant ſolicitude. This unhappy couple did not live long in comfortleſs lodgings. He took the houſe of Mrs. Rainier, next the Board-yard, on Dolphin key, without being able to furniſh it. Mr. Rutter, a reputable upholſterer of Sandwich, ſupplied him with ſuch furniture as he wanted. But it ere long appeared, that our adventurer deſired relief as much as he wiſhed for reſidence. And being embarraſſed with debts, and goaded by duns, he was thus obliged to depart in the night between the ſeventh and eighth of April, 1760, from Sandwich, with his wife, to Margate; carrying with him the ſtays of a cuſtomer, a ſtove of his houſe, and other articles. At Sandwich he left a bad character, which has come down to the preſent times; and has induced the inhabitants to remark, that not a ſingle anecdote of him is remembered, which is favourable to his moral character.

At

At Margate he ſold by auction the furniture, which Mr. Rutter had ſupplied him on credit; the ſtays being recovered by a timeful claim. Our adventurer, we fear, committed on this occaſion an old crime, which has now a new name. In Henry VIIIth's days, he who obtained another's property by falſe tokens, was puniſhed, by pillory, as a cheat. In George IId's reign, as the law now is, perſons convicted of obtaining goods by falſe pretences, were to be tranſported, as ſwindlers. Had Pain been indicted at the Old Bailey, he might have inſiſted, as he now inſiſts, that the laws of England did not exiſt. The court would have probably ſent him to Bedlam, or to Bridewell; or have proceeded with the trial, and adjudged the guilty culprit to the colonies, or the cart's tail. Whether the laws of Great-Britain actually exiſt is not a theory to be debated, but a fact to be acknowledged: and he who denies the exiſtence of thoſe objects, which with his ſenſes he perceives, is not ſo much a declaimer to be confuted, as a madman to be confined, or a cheat to be corrected.

When our adventurer had ſettled his various affairs at Margate, he once more mingled with the crowds of London. Of the fate of his wife, rumour has ſpoken variouſly. By ſome ſhe is ſaid to have periſhed on the road of ill uſage, and a premature birth. The women of Sandwich are poſitive, that ſhe died in the Britiſh Lying-in Hoſpital, in Brownlow-ſtreet, Long-acre; but the regiſter

giſter of this charity, which is kept with commendable accuracy, evinces, that ſhe had not been received into this laudable refuge of female wretchedneſs *. And there are others, who have convinced themſelves by diligent enquiry, that ſhe is ſtill alive, though the extreme obſcurity of her retreat prevents ready diſcovery. The trials, which Pain had made of his trade, as they had brought him no pleaſure and little gain, induced him to renounce it at this time for ever. When a youth, he had inquired into the duty, and envied the perquiſites, of an exciſeman. His wife had, doubtleſs, ſpoken of the honours and emoluments of her deceaſed father. And he was induced by theſe conſiderations, in July, 1761, to ſeek for ſhelter in his father's houſe, that he might proſecute in quiet privacy, at Thetford, the great object of his future courſe.

After fourteen months of ſtudy and trials, Pain was eſtabliſhed in the exciſe, on the 1ſt of December, 1762, at the age of twenty-five. He owed this gratification of his wiſhes to the friendly interference of Mr. Cockſedge, the learned recorder of Thetford. He was immediately ſent, as a ſupernumerary, to gage the brewer's caſks at Grantham;

* A diligent ſearch in the books of the *London Lying-in Hoſpital*, in the City Road, found no ſuch perſon as Miſtreſs Pain to have died in it, during the years 1760, or 1761: Nor, is it true, as hath been poſitively aſſerted in the newſpapers, that ſhe is now living in the work-houſe of St. George's, Southwark.

and

and on the 8th of Auguſt, 1764, he was employed to watch the ſmugglers of Alford. Whether, while he thus walked as a ſupernumerary at Grantham, or rode as an exciſeman at Alford, his practices had been miſrepreſented by malice, or his diſhoneſty had been detected by watchfulneſs, tradition has not told us: but, it is certain, that he was diſmiſſed from his office, on the 27th of Auguſt, 1765.

Our adventurer, who appears to have had from nature no deſire of accumulation, or rather no care of the future, was now reduced to extreme wretchedneſs. He was abſolutely without food, without raiment, and without ſhelter. Bad, however, muſt that man be, who finds no friends in London. He met with perſons, who, from diſintereſted kindneſs, gave him clothes, money, and lodging. Thus he lived till the 11th of July, 1766, when he was reſtored to the exciſe. But mere reſtoration did not bring him preſent employment. And he was about the ſame time obliged to enter into the ſervice of Mr. Noble, who kept the great Academy in Leman-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, at a ſalary of twenty pounds a year, with five pounds for finding his own lodging. Here he continued, teaching Engliſh, and walking out with the children, till Chriſtmas, 1766, diſliked by the miſtreſs, who yet remembers him, and hated by the boys, who were terrified by his harſhneſs. During this period, he lodged with one Oliver, a hair-dreſſer, in Whitechapel,

chapel, who ſtill recollects him. Mr. Noble relinquiſhed Pain, without much regret, to Mr. Gardnor, who then taught a reputable ſchool at Kenſington: yet, owing to whatever cauſe, he here acted as uſher only the three firſt months of 1767. Pain's deſire of preaching now returned on him: but applying to his old maſter for a certificate of his qualifications to the biſhop of London, Mr. Noble told him, that ſince he was only an Engliſh ſcholar, he could not recommend him as a proper candidate for ordination in the church. Our adventurer, however, determined to perſevere in his purpoſe, without regular orders. And he preached in Moorfields, and in various populous places in England, as he was urged by his neceſſities, or directed by his ſpirit. The text, which ſo emphatically inculcates, *meddle not with them that are given to change*, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, he ſuperficially explained, or ſeldom enforced.

The ſcene ere long ſhifted: and Pain was at length to play an old part on a new ſtage. In March, 1768, he was ſent, after ſome delays, to be exciſe-officer at Lewes, in Suſſex. He now went to lodge with Mr. Samuel Ollive, a tobacconiſt and ſhop-keeper of fair repute, in Lewes: but he ſeems to have learned no practical leſſons from his former diſtreſs. At the age of thirty one he was rather ambitious to ſhine as a *jolly fellow* among his private companions, to whom, however, he expoſed a temper, obſtinate and overbearing, than

to be conſidered by his official ſuperiors as an exciſeman, remarkable for diligence and fidelity: and ſuch was his enterprize on the water, and his intrepidity on the ice, that he became known by the appellation of *commodore*. He lived on, ſuſpected as an exciſeman, and unbeloved as a friend, with Samuel Ollive till his death, in July, 1769. This worthy tobacconiſt died rather in bad circumſtances, leaving a widow, one daughter, and ſeveral ſons, who have proſpered as induſtrious citizens, and are reſpected as honeſt men. Our adventurer, attempting to retain ſome of the effects of the deceaſed, was turned out of the houſe by Mr. Atterſol, the executor, with ſuch circumſtances, as implied diſtruſt of his integrity. He found his way, however, into the houſe of Ollive, in 1770, by means of the widow and the daughter, who, doubtleſs, looked on him with other eyes. He opened ere long the ſhop, in his own name, as a grocer, and on his own behalf continued to work the tobacco-mill of Ollive, however contrary both the ſhop and the mill were to the maxims of the exciſe. Such was his addreſs, or his artifice, that though he had promoted the buying of ſmuggled tobacco, he was able, for ſeveral years, to cover his practices, and to retain his protector.

The year 1771 forms one of the happy periods of his life. At the age of thirty-four he married Elizabeth Ollive, the daughter of his old landlord,

who was eleven years younger than himſelf*, and who was a woman of ſuch accompliſhments, as to attract men of higher rank and greater delicacy. Pain had, however, gained her affections; and ſhe would have him, contrary to the advice of Mr. Atterſol, her father's friend, and to the remonſtrances of her own relations. This marriage began inauſpiciouſly, and ended unhappily. Before our adventurer could have obtained his marriage-licenſe, he ſwore that he was a *bachelor*, when he knew, that he was a *widower*, if indeed his firſt wife were deceaſed†. As to the ſanction of an oath, he had learned that commodious maxim of the celebrated moraliſt:—"That he who made, "and forc'd it, broke it; not he, that for conve-"nience took it." Pain was, on this occaſion, inſtrumental too, with his underſtanding clear, and his eyes opened, in entering on the regiſter that he

* The following entry appears on the pariſh regiſter of St. Michael, in Lewes:—Thomas Pain, *bachelor*, and Elizabeth Ollive, ſpinſter, were married in this church, by licenſe, the 26th of March, 1771. By me, ROBERT AUSTEN, Curate.

Witneſſes,	(Signed)
HENRY VERRALL.	THOMAS PAIN.
THOMAS OLLIVE.	ELIZABETH OLLIVE.

† It is a very remarkable fact, that the marriage affidavits, within the diſtrict of Lewes, during 1771, the year of Pain's marriage, ſhould be miſſing; yet, that the marriage affidavits, during 1770 and 1772, ſhould be ſafe. Whether this loſs happened by deſign, or accident, we will not conjecture, though we think the coincidence rather extraordinary.

was

was a *bachelor*, though he knew he was a *widower*. Now, the Marriage-act, which ſome conſider as an infringement of men's rights and women's rights, declares it to be felony, without benefit of clergy, wilfully to make a falſe entry on the regiſter, with intention to defeat the ſalutary purpoſes of recording truth, diſcriminating characters, and aſcertaining property.

After theſe viciſſitudes of fortune, and thoſe varieties of fame, Pain commenced public writer in 1771. The electors of New Shoreham had lately acted in ſuch a manner, as to attract parliamentary notice, and even to incur parliamentary diſfranchiſement. A new election was at length to be held, not ſo much in a new manner, as on new principles. The poets of Lewes were called upon by the candidate of faireſt pretenſions, to furniſh an election ſong. Our *poet* obtained the laurel, with three guineas for his pains. It may, then, be doubted, whether it be ſtrictly true, what Pain aſſerted, in his news-paper altercations, in 1779, that till the epoch of his *Common Senſe*, he had never publiſhed a ſyllable.

If the diſtributing of printed papers be publication, it will ſoon appear, that Pain had not been quite innocent of publiſhing, in England. He had riſen, by ſuperior energy, more than by greater honeſty, to be a chief among the exciſemen. A deſign was formed by the exciſe officers throughout the kingdom, to apply to Parliament for a conſi-

deration of the ſtate of their ſalaries. A common contribution was made for the common benefit. And our author engaged to write *their Caſe*, which he produced, after many months labour, in 1772. This is an octavo pamphlet of twenty-one pages, which, excluſive of *The Introduction*, is divided into two heads; *The State of the Salary of the Officers of Exciſe*; *Thoughts on the Corruption, ariſing from the Poverty of Exciſe Officers*. On theſe topics he ſays all that the ableſt writer could have ſaid. Truth indeed eaſily ſlides into the mind, without the aſſiſtance of ability, or the recommendation of artifice. But, if Pain's maiden pamphlet be inſpected by critical malignity, it will be found, like his maturer writings, to abound in the falſe grammar of illiterature, and the falſe thoughts of inexperience. Vigour of ſentiment and energy of manner will not be denied him. His firſt pamphlet will be conſidered as his beſt performance by all thoſe, who regard truth as ſuperior to falſehood, modeſty to impudence, and juſt complaint to factious innovation.

Four thouſand of *The Caſe* were printed by Mr. William Lee, of Lewes, in 1772. But even the copies, which were intended for the Members of Parliament, were not all diſtributed. Our author on that occaſion wrote *a letter concerning the Nottingham officers*, which was printed on a folio ſheet; and to theſe he added another letter, enforcing his caſe,

caſe, on a folio page. Yet, all theſe efforts ended in no application to Parliament, though Pain buſtled in London, through the winter of 1773. A rebellion of the exciſemen, who ſeldom have the populace on their ſide, was not much feared by their ſuperiors. The exciſemen could only reproach our author for receiving their money, without obtaining them redreſs. And of Pain, who employed him, the printer complained, that he had not been paid for printing, though much had been contributed, and little had been ſpent. This is a memorable inſtance how eaſily men may be led on to complain of their preſent ſituation, without any other ſucceſs, than making their ſubſequent condition worſe than their firſt.

Thoſe were not our adventurer's only cares. With the year 1774 misfortunes crouded faſt upon him. He is one of thoſe characters, who, as they attend more to other men's affairs than their own, are frequently diſtinguiſhed, in the world, by a ſucceſſion of misfortunes. His inattention to his ſhop ere long left him without a ſhop to attend. Difficulties ſoon brought on diſtreſs; and diſtreſs drove him to do what ſtrict honeſty did not abſolutely warrant. He made a bill of ſale of his whole effects to Mr. Whitfield, a reputable grocer at Lewes, who was his principal creditor; and who, ſeeing no hope of payment from his conſtant irregularities, took poſſeſſion of the premiſes,

which

which he diſpoſed of as his own, in April 1774*. The other creditors, thinking themſelves outwitted by Whitfield, and cheated by Pain, let looſe the terriers of the law upon him. Like other hunted animals, our adventurer ran for refuge to the White-horſe-inn, in the cock-loft of which he lay, without bedding, and but for the female ſervant, had been without food, till Sunday ſet him free. Alas! how often do men enjoy the greateſt benefits from the inſtitutions of religion and the rules of ſociety, without reflecting, that in the firſt alone is their hope, in the ſecond only is their ſafety!

Troubles ſeldom come without ſome previous miſconduct. He had long been known at Lewes as an officer, inattentive, if not unfaithful. He had ſometimes condeſcended, for the purpoſe of concealment, *to drink a bottle with the examiner* †. But,

* Mr. Whitfield, by publiſhing the following advertiſement, expoſed to the whole town of Lewes, the deſperate ſtate of his debtor's circumſtances: "To be ſold by auction, on Thurſday "the 14th of April, and following day, all the houſehold fur-"niture, ſtock in trade, and other effects, of Thomas Pain, "grocer and tobacconiſt, near the Weſt Gate, in Lewes: Alſo, "a horſe-tobacco and ſnuff-mill, with all the utenſils for cut-"ting of tobacco, and grinding of ſnuff; and two unopened "crates of cream-coloured ſtone ware."

† As every ſcrap of a great writer is intereſting to the curious, we have preſerved the ſubjoined extract of a letter from our author to a ſuperior exciſe officer, dated at Lewes, the 24th of March, 1774:

"Dear

But, the eagle-eyes of the exciſe were not to be blinded by bottles. With the watchfulneſs, and jealouſy, which make the exciſe the neateſt collector, at the ſmalleſt rate, his ſuperiors had for ſome time beheld him, dealing as a grocer in exciſeable articles, as a grinder of ſnuff buying ſmuggled tobacco; at others conniving, in order to conceal himſelf. He was therefore diſmiſſed from the exciſe, after a dozen years ſervice, on the 8th of April 1774. He petitioned for reſtoration: but, ſuch was his notoriouſneſs, that his patron was unable to protect him.

What had been ſeen at Sandwich of his conjugal tyranny was ere long obſerved at Lewes. Such was the meekneſs of his wife that ſhe ſuffered patiently: but as his embarraſſments did not mollify a temper, which is from nature harſh; as his ſubordination to others did not ſoften his treatment of inferiors, from neglect of his wife, he proceeded to contumely; from contumely he went on to cruelty; when, being no longer able to ſupport his repeated beatings, ſhe complained to her friends.

"Dear Sir,

"I have requeſted Mr. Scott to put ye 3d and 4th r^d^. books "for 74 under examination, for as I was in London almoſt all "laſt winter, I have no other, which have any buſineſs in them "—Requeſt the favour (if not too inconvenient) to inquire "and inform me when they are ordered—and *if you can find "out the examiner, deſire you will drink a bottle or two of wine "with him*—I ſhould like the character to go in as fair as it "can."

She

She at length, told, that at the end of three and a half year's cohabitation, their marriage had never been conſummated. Pain ſaid in his juſtification, if ſuch baſeneſs can admit of any, "that he mar-"ried for prudential reaſons; and abſtained for "prudential reaſons." Alas! are the rights of men, the boaſt of the new philoſophy, to ſubſiſt thus in perſonal convenience, which diſregards ſolemn engagements, and contemns the rights of others! On the 24th of May, 1774, Pain and his wife entered into articles of ſeparation, which were ſkilfully drawn by Mr. Joſias Smith, a moſt reſpectable attorney of Lewes; ſhe engaging to pay her huſband thirty-five pounds; and he promiſing to claim no part of whatever goods ſhe might gain in future.

Our adventurer immediately hid himſelf in the obſcurities of London. But, though he was unſeen, he was not inactive; he contrived to diſcover his wife's retreat in the houſe of her benevolent brother, who, tho' he had diſapproved of her marriage, now ſheltered her diſtreſs. The huſband found no difficulty in diſquieting his wife's repoſe. He diſputed the articles of ſeparation, which he had recently executed with ſuch ſolemnity. She was, in this manner, induced to enter into new articles of ſeparation on the 4th of June, 1774, which amounted to a declaration on his part, *that he no longer found a wife a convenience*; and on her part, *that ſhe had too long ſuffered the miſeries of ſuch a huſband.*

Neither

Neither the bankruptcy; nor diſmiſſal from office; nor ſeparation from his wife; weakened Pain's ſtrong intereſt with the late George Lewis Scott, who had been appointed a commiſſioner of exciſe in 1758; and who, having been firſt attracted by *the caſe* of the exciſemen, was afterwards captivated by the ſoftneſs of his manner, which concealed the harſhneſs of his ſpirit. When his patron, whoſe literature is remembered, while his benevolence is forgotten, could not, for the third time, obtain our author's reſtoration as an officer of exciſe, he recommended him ſtrongly to that great man Dr. Benjamin Franklin, as a perſon who could, at that epoch, be uſeful in America. The Doctor, having recently felt the mortification of diſmiſſion himſelf, was ſuppoſed to be a man, who was ſoftened by his ſuffering. And he was thus induced to give Pain a recommendatory letter to Mr. Richard Beech, a wine merchant in Philadelphia, who had married Sarah, the doctor's natural daughter, and an introductory epiſtle to governor Franklin of the Jerſeys, propoſing Pain as an uſher to a ſchool. Our adventurer, having in this manner been obliged, by his miſconduct and diſhoneſty, to give up his country, ſet ſail in September 1774, for Pennſylvania, where tumult then reigned triumphant; where the buſy might find employment, and the idle aſſociates; the baſe concealment, and the brave applauſe.

Meantime, rumour carried to our adventurer's mother, repreſentations of his latter life, which were probably exaggerated by enmity, or miſtated by malice. She certainly felt, that a child's ingratitude is ſharper than a ſerpent's tooth. She was almoſt diſtracted by her feelings; and ſhe regretted with a woman's ſympathy, that the wife, whoſe character had defied enquiry, and whoſe amiableneſs deſerved eſteem, ſhould be tied for life to the worſt of huſbands *.

Our

* We ſubjoin the following letter from Pain's mother to his wife; not only for its own merit, but becauſe it aſcertains his identity, and illuſtrates his character.

Thetford, Norfolk, 27th July, 1774.

" Dear Daughter,

" I muſt beg leave to trouble you with my enquiries concerning my unhappy ſon and your huſband: various are the " reports, the which I find come originally from the Exciſe-" office. Such as his vile treatment to you, his ſecreting up-" wards of 30l. intruſted with him to manage the petition for " advance of ſalary; and that ſince his diſcharge, he have petitioned to be reſtored, which was rejected with ſcorn. Since " which I am told he have left England. To all which I beg " you'll be kind enough to anſwer me by due courſe of poſt.— " You'll not be a little ſurprized at my ſo ſtrongly deſiring to " know what's become of him after. I repeat to you his undu-" tiful behaviour to the tendereſt of parents; he never aſked of " us any thing, but what was granted, that were in our poor " abilities to do; nay, even diſtreſſed ourſelves, whoſe works " are given over by old age, to let him have 20l. on bond, and " every other tender mark a parent could poſſibly ſhew a " child; his ingratitude, or rather want of duty, has been ſuch,

" that

Our adventurer arrived ſafely at Philadelphia, in November 1774, a few months, as he recounts himſelf, before the battle of Lexington, in April, 1775 *. He of courſe preſented his recommendatory letter to Mr. Beech; but, it was Pain's misfortune, that he correſponded afterwards with his patron more by writing than by perſonal intercourſe. And Mr. Beech wrote to Governor Franklin, to whom Pain had not preſented his credentials, that though Mr. Pain might make a good uſher, he would make a bad clerk; as he could not ſpell. He was thus diſappointed in his hopes from Dr. Franklin's recommendation: and his firſt employment, in the new world, was in the ſtation of ſhopman to Mr. Aitkin, a very induſtrious bookſeller, in Philadelphia, at twenty pounds a year. He, who was born to illuminate the weſtern hemiſphere by his fires, was for ſome months engaged in retailing politics by the pennyworth, and carrying parcels by the dozen. It ſhews the ſtrength of his character, and the perturbation of the country, that

" that he have not wrote to me upwards of two years.—If the " above account be true, I am heartily ſorry, that a woman " whoſe character and amiableneſs deſerves the greateſt reſpect, " love, and eſteem, as I have always on enquiry been informed " your's did, ſhould be tied for life to the worſt of huſbands.— " I am, dear daughter, your affectionate mother,

F. PAIN."

" P. S. For God's ſake, let me have your anſwer, as I am " almoſt diſtracted."

* Alm. Rememb. 1778-9, pag. 319.

he ſhould have ſpeedily riſen from the ſhopman to the ſtateſman; from being the diſtributer of ſtationary, to be the diſmemberer of provinces.

From the ſhop he went into the laboratory, in November 1775, in order to furniſh the Congreſs with ſaltpetre, when foreign ſupplies were ſtopped, and domeſtic reſources were doubtful. He, at this criſis, employed his fertile genius in making experiments for the purpoſe of fixing on ſome eaſy, cheap, and expeditious method of making ſaltpetre. He propoſed the plan of a ſaltpetre aſſociation, for voluntarily ſupplying the public magazines with gunpowder *. He thus evinced to the approving Congreſs, that he could furniſh other inſtruments of independence than the pen. November 1775 was an anxious period, when every hand was at work, and Pain with his plan ran about among the Philadelphians, like a giant among pigmies.

The great, the important day, at laſt arrived, when our author was to diſpel the lowering clouds by *his* refulgence, to illuminate the new world by *his* ſun, to invigorate by *his* brighter beams, and to direct by *his* ſuperior luſtre. On the 10th of January, 1776, was publiſhed COMMON SENSE, an octavo pamphlet of ſixty-three pages †. This diſquiſition

* Pennſyl. Journal, Nov. 22d. 1775.

† In the Pennſylvania Journal, dated the 10th of January, 1776, there is the following advertiſement: "This day was "publiſhed, and is now ſelling by Robert Bell, in Third-ſtreet, "[Philadelphia,]

quiſition opens with a political diſcovery, which had eſcaped the ſagacity of Sydney, and eluded the underſtanding of Locke: "That *ſociety* and *government* are not only different, but have different origins; that *ſociety* is a *good*, and *government* an *evil*." This inflammatory nonſenſe was not heard, however, without a ſatisfactory anſwer. *Society*, it was ſaid, is the *union* of man for the ſafety of individuals; *happineſs* is the *end* of this *union*; and *government* is the *means* for the *attainment* of this *end*: Now, if you remove the *means*, either in practice, or in argument, you at the ſame time deſtroy the *end*; and if you defeat the *end*, you thereby diſſolve the *union*. Government and ſociety, being thus parts of one whole, and being thus directed to the ſame end, have the ſame origin, and cannot without each other exiſt. In this manner, was Pain's COMMON SENSE plainly converted into NON-SENSE. It was Cato *, our pamphleteer's moſt formidable antagoniſt, who argued thus with all the ſententiouſneſs and authority of his great precurſor in the Roman ſtate. But Cato did not ſufficiently attend to Pain's purpoſe; who intended then, as he has al-

"[Philadelphia,] price two ſhillings, *Common Senſe*, addreſſed "to the inhabitants of North-America." As there was no previous advertiſement, this circumſtance fixes the date of the publication, which hiſtorians have miſtaken.

* CATO was William Smith, D. D. the preſident of the college of Philadelphia, who was countenanced and aſſiſted by ſome of the ableſt members of the firſt Congreſs. He was a veteran writer of eſtabliſhed practice,

ways

ways done, more to misrepresent than to reason; more to deceive than to convince: and his design led him naturally to separate society from government, and to declare society to be always a good, but government even of the best form to be every where an evil *.

Whatever may be the value of the inflammatory nonsense of Pain, either in theory or in practice, it was afterwards stolen by the Abbé Raynal, one of the metaphysical statesmen of the age, who writes history, as men take cathartics, for the pleasure of evacuation †. The Abbé did not consider the immorality of appropriating to himself what belonged to another: perhaps he regarded it as one of the rights of men, to adopt kindly what he saw struggling for reception into the republican world. Pain however, reclaimed his goods, and by plain collation proved his property ‡, and convicted the culprit. Yet, as there are men who doubt their own existence, so were there sceptics who disputed, whether this *nonsense* were a discovery either of Raynal, or of Pain. The doubtists produced a passage from an eminent lawyer of the last century, who wrote with the precision of prose, yet with the neatness of poetry:

* In p. 1, and through the whole section, which treats of *the Origin and Design of Government.*

† In the Revolution of America, by Abbé Raynal, p. 33.

‡ By his *Letter to Abbé Raynal*, p. 58, &c.

"——Broken

" ——Broken laws are ne'er the worſe;
" Nay, till they're broken have no force,
" What's Juſtice to a man, or Laws,
" That never comes within their claws?
" They have no power but to admoniſh,
" Cannot controul, coerce or puniſh,
" Until they're broken; and then touch
" Thoſe only that do make them ſuch."

Whether Cato diſdained to pull down the ſuperſtructure after he had deſtroyed the foundation, may be inferred, but cannot be diſcovered. He certainly inſiſted through ſeveral papers *, that he who treats the *beſt government* as an *evil*, may be allowed to aſſert, " that the conſtitution of Eng-" land, being an union of three powers recipro-" cally checking each other, is farcical;" that he who pronounces, " that no power which needs " checking can be from God †," may be permitted to tell how " government by kings is the " moſt proſperous invention the devil ever ſat on " foot for the promotion of idolatry;" that he, whoſe purpoſe is to pleaſe the low, may eaſily inſult the high; that he, who ſeldom reaſons, may often rail; and that he, whoſe deſign is to diſſolve ſociety, may practiſe any means. All this Pain did not hear patiently. The ſtay-maker attacked the ſcholar through the channel of the ſame newſpaper, under the title of *A Forreſter* ‡. The onſet

* In the Pennſylvania Journal. † Page 8.

‡ In the Pennſylvania Journal, the firſt *Forreſter* was publiſhed on the third of April, 1776; and the 4th Eſſay, which was the laſt, appeared on the 8th of May, 1776.

was furious, and the victory doubtful. The ſtay-maker had moſt popularity; the ſcholar had moſt knowledge; the firſt had moſt ſmartneſs; the laſt had moſt ſtrength: our author's art conſiſted in aſſumption of premiſes, and ſophiſtry of deduction; Cato's power lay in ſolidity of principle, and juſtneſs of reaſoning: the exciſeman, for once, had the applauſe of the mob; the preſident of the college was approved by the young, who gravely read, and by the old, who deeply deplored the conſequences of ſeditious publications *.

Yet, it cannot be denied, that *common ſenſe* was univerſally peruſed, and loudly praiſed. For the minds of the Coloniſts had been prepared by the

* The *ſcholar* was ſtudious to expoſe the *ſtay-maker* as an illiterate writer: his falſe grammar thus;—"Many circumſtances *hath*, and will ariſe." [Introd.] "Here *is* the origin *and* riſe of government." [P. 4.] "Abſolute governments *hath* this advantage." [P. 5.] "That the Commons *is* a check upon the king." [P. 6.]—"Whom it has always ſuppoſed wiſer than *him*. A mere abſurdity!" [P. 7.] His improprieties thus:—"William, the Conqueror, was *a* uſurper." [P. 20.] —"*a* union." [P. 25.]—After thus ſhewing falſe grammar and falſe idiom, nonſenſicalneſs [25—26] and coarſeneſs [every where], the ſcholar exclaimed;——That it would degrade criticiſm to chaſe a child to his hornbook. But, the preſident of the college ſhould have remembered, that claſſical writing was not to be expected from a mere ſtay-maker, a mere grocer, a mere exciſeman; and that he is the true orator, who gains his end by affecting and convincing. It was the firſt American edition of *Common Senſe*, which the *Scholar* quoted againſt the *Stay-maker*: The edition of Almon was caſtrated and amended by ſome other hand.

previous

previous publication of *Burgh's Diſquiſitions*; and by the eſſays of ſimilar writers;

"Who fancy every thing that *is*,
"For want of mending, much amiſs."

Whatever is received, ſaid the ſapience of Johnſon, *is received in proportion to the recipient*. The planters had long wiſhed the doctrines of *common ſenſe* to be true; and they thought the author infallible: they had, for years, been travelling on the road of independence; and Pain now ſhewed them the ſhorteſt way. The firſt edition was quickly ſold. A ſecond, with a ſupplement of *one-third more*, was immediately prepared. A German tranſlation was printed *. Bell, the bookſeller, was changed, according to our author's verſatility of acting, for Bradford, the printer: yet, after all theſe editions, and all this applauſe, this wonder-working pamphlet brought the writer of it in debt to the publiſher 29l. 12s. 1d, if we may believe him, who is not remarkable for his love of truth †.

But, who wrote it was the wonder. It muſt be Adams, ſaid the Boſtonians; it muſt be Franklin, ſaid the Philadelphians; it muſt be Waſhington, ſaid the Virginians. Many months had not elapſed, when Pain claimed his profit and his praiſe. Neither was this profit much diminiſhed, nor this praiſe much prevented, by the *Anſwer*, entitled, PLAIN

* Pennſyl. Journ. 31 Jan. 1776.

† See Pain's Declaration in Almon's Rem. 1780, Part I. p. 295.

TRUTH, which, as it was haſtily written, was inattentively read; and, as it only taught the dull duty of obedience, was not much heard, amidſt the ravings of anarchy.

Common Senſe was at that time written to ſupport *the Congreſs*; but *the Congreſs*, after their independence, confuted *Common Senſe*. At the end of ſeven years experience, the Congreſs determined *, notwithſtanding our author's principles and practices, that anarchy is an evil to be avoided, and government a good to be cheriſhed; that ſovereignty and ſubordination, being contradictory qualities, cannot both exiſt in the ſame ſocieties, or in the ſame perſons; that the individuals, who compoſe any political union, cannot be ſafe, if they be not reſtrained; that where happineſs is the end propoſed by a people, much muſt be ſacrificed to the means, whereby this end can alone be ſecured. In this ſtrain it was, that General Waſhington wrote the following paragraph, when he announced the final determinations of the united wiſdom of the New World †:—"It is obviouſly impracticable in the "fœderal government of theſe ſtates, to ſecure all

* In the convention, which was held at Philadelphia, in September 1787; and which ſettled the preſent conſtitution of the United States.

† It was part of the letter which he wrote on the 17th of September, 1787, as preſident of the grand convention, when he communicated to the old congreſs the eſtabliſhment of a new conſtitution on new principles.

"the

" the rights of independent ſovereignty to each,
" and yet provide for the intereſt and ſafety of all.
" Individuals, entering into ſociety, muſt give up a
" ſhare of liberty to preſerve the reſt. The mag-
" nitude of the ſacrifice muſt depend as well on
" ſituation and circumſtance, as on the object to
" be obtained." Theſe muſt be allowed to be excellent obſervations, though they be not altogether new. All thoſe principles are early taught to every Engliſhman, except, indeed, thoſe Engliſhmen, who are educated at Geneva and Lauſanne, at Warrington and Hackney.

In America, the year 1776 will always form a remarkable æra. When all was done, that the pen could do, the ſword was drawn. But, the firſt onſet was unfavourable to the American arms. The troops of Congreſs were expelled from Canada in June. They were defeated on Long-Iſland in Auguſt. They evacuated New-York in September. They fled from the White Plains in October. And Fort Waſhington, though garriſoned by three thouſand patriots, was taken by ſtorm, on the 16th of November. In the midſt of theſe defeats, Pain was prompted by his courage, or his zeal, to join the army: but, whether to counſel, to command, or to obey, curioſity could not diſcover amid the din of war. It is only certain, that he accompanied the retreat * of

* There is a journal of this retreat in Al. Rem. 1777, p. 28, which was plainly written by Pain.

Waſhington, from Hudſon's River to the Delaware. When Waſhington had croſſed the Delaware, he might have exclaimed with Francis 1ſt of France, after the battle of Pavia: *all is loſt, but our honour.* The Congreſs fled. All were diſmayed. Yet, Pain thanked God, that he did not fear. He knew well their ſituation, and ſaw his way out of it. He endeavoured, with no inconſiderable ſucceſs, to make others ſee with his eyes, to inſpire others with his confidence. It was with this deſign, that he publiſhed in the Pennſylvania Journal, on the 19th of December 1776, *The Criſis* *, wherein he ſtates every topic of hope, and examines every motive of apprehenſion. This *Eſſay* he continued to publiſh periodically, during the continuance of hoſtilities, as often as the neceſſity of affairs required, that he ſhould conceal truth, or propagate falſhood; that he ſhould exhilarate deſpondency, or repreſs hope †.

In the midſt of thoſe defeats and of that diſmay, the Congreſs diſpatched agents to foreign powers, to ſolicit warlike ſtores, and to engage experienced officers. Deane, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, met together at Paris, in December 1776, where they incited ſympathy, whatever relief they obtained.

* Alm. Rem. 1777, p. 11.

† The *Criſis*, N° XIII. was publiſhed at Philadelphia on the 19th of April, 1783, the ſame day that a ceſſation of hoſtilities was proclaimed. This was the laſt. [Alm. Rem. 1783, Part II, p. 105.]

Pain

Pain did more real ſervice to Congreſs, and miſchief to Britain, by publiſhing another *Criſis*, on the 13th of January 1777*; whereby he taught his readers to rely on their own firmneſs more than on the aid of ſtrangers.

The year 1777 was to the Congreſs a period of alternate elation and depreſſion, but of final triumph. At firſt, their European concerns were managed by *a Committee for ſecret Correſpondence:* but, as their demands for European aid became more urgent, the Secret Committee was converted into *the Committee for foreign Affairs.* Of this Committee Pain was appointed Secretary, as an approbation of his writings, or as a reward of his labours. All foreign letters, after this appointment, remained in his office†. Pain's duty required him to reſide in future with Congreſs, who, whereſoever they fled, or howſoever they were ſituated, deſerved the praiſe of ſteady firmneſs. The ſucceſs, which was the reſult of this magnanimity, did not, however, prevent intereſtedneſs, or defeat cabal.

In December, 1777, Silas Deane, the firſt and ableſt commercial agent of the Congreſs in Europe, was recalled, to make room for William Lee, the well known Alderman of London. Deane arrived, in the river Delaware, on board the French

* Alm. Rem. 1777, p. 16. Pain publiſhed his third *Criſis* on the 13th of April. [ib. 313.] His fourth *Criſis* on the 12th of September. [ib. 437.]

† Pain's Letter to Raynal, p. 29.

fleet,

fleet, in July, 1778. The Sieur Gerard was publickly received by the Congreſs, on the ſixth of the ſubſequent Auguſt. In this manner was intrigue transferred to Philadelphia from Paris. Deane was twice heard by the Congreſs, on the 9th and 21ſt of Auguſt, in order to explain, what he had been recalled to elucidate, the Congreſs affairs in the European world. Whatever may have been the cauſe, whether ungracefulneſs of manner, or inſufficiency of matter, certain it is, that the Congreſs would not then hear Deane a third time, though entreated by every mode of application. On this ſubject, and on this occaſion, he appealed *to the free and virtuous citizens of America* *, on the 5th of December, 1778; profeſſing great reſpect for the Congreſs, but diſcloſing to the country, that a ſacrifice had been made of patriotiſm to cabal of family.

Of thoſe events which intereſted the American world, Pain was no unconcerned ſpectator. He publiſhed his fifth *Criſis* on the 10th of June, 1778 †; his ſixth *Criſis* in October, and his ſeventh in November thereafter ‡. At the ſame moment that Deane laid down the pen, our author took his in hand. Without conſulting his pru-

* This paper of Silas Deane contains much intereſting anecdote, which makes it not unworthy of the hiſtorian's notice. [Alm. Rem. 1778-9, p. 185.]

† See Alm. Rem. 1788, p. 340.

‡ Ibid. 1779, p. 304—1780, p. 317.

denee,

dence, he attacked Deane, who, as a ſcholar, was ſuperior to himſelf; as a ſtateſman, had held higher offices; as an individual, was at leaſt his equal. Without liſtening to Common Senſe, he involved in the controverſy Robert Morris, the far-famed financier of the United States, who *ſtepped from the floor of office*, to correct his miſrepreſentations, and repreſs his inſolence *. Without conſidering official decorum, our ſecretary retailed through the newſpapers, what he confidentially knew from the foreign correſpondence.

The Sieur Gerard, who had been bred at the foot of Vergennes, was ſcandalized at an imprudent infidelity, which diſcloſed the intrigues of his court. Of this miſconduct the miniſter of France complained to the Congreſs †. On the ſixth of January, 1779, being ordered to attend the Congreſs, Pain was aſked by Jay, the preſident, *If he were the author of the publications on Mr. Deane's affairs*; and anſwering *Yes*, he was ordered to withdraw. On the ſubſequent day he applied to Congreſs for an explanatory hearing; but he was refuſed; the Congreſs, no doubt, conſidering, that the public officer, who had plainly acknowledged his breach of truſt, could not by any explanation re-eſtabliſh his official credit. Pain was thus forced to give in his reſignation of *the office of Secretary to*

* See Alm. Rem. 1788-9, p. 382.

† Ibid. 1778-9, from p. 374 to 391.—Ibid. 1780, p. 290—297.

the

the Committee for Foreign Affairs, on the 8th of January, 1779. Yet, ſtrange to tell, on the 16th of the ſame month, a motion was made in Congreſs, for diſmiſſing him from the office, that he no longer held: And, though there were fourteen members for it, to thirteen againſt it, the motion was loſt; ſince the States, who alone could vote, were equal; there being five States to five *. On this event, our ouſted Secretary endeavoured, though with leſs ſucceſs than he wiſhed, to incite the American citizens againſt their Congreſs, by propagating, *That the ſovereignty of the United States*, and *the delegated repreſentation of that ſovereignty in Congreſs, were* two *diſtinct things; which ought to be kept ſeparate; and which proves, that the firſt may be riſing, while the ſecond is ſinking.*

In this manner our ANARCH did not repoſe in inſignificance, when he ceaſed to be the ſecretary of a committee. He continued to buſtle awhile; to boaſt of his ſervices; and to complain of ingratitude. The Sieur Gerard thought him important, or perhaps imagined, that he whoſe infidelity had diſcloſed many ſecrets, might, by reſentment, be induced to reveal ſtill more. From Vergennes, the Plenipo had learned, that a point is to be carried by any means; by the faireſt, if poſſible; by the fouleſt, if neceſſary. While Gerard com-

* See thoſe memorable incidents in Pain's life related by himſelf, in *the Pennſylvania Packet* of the 13th of April, 1779.

plained to the Congreſs publickly, he intrigued with Pain privately. They had ſeveral meetings, the object of which was *Silence* about *Deane*. Gerard made him *a genteel and profitable offer*. But Pain was pledged to proſecute Deane; and he was determined, that *penſion* and *Pain* ſhould never be ſeen together in the ſame paragraph. Gerard renewed his intrigues with Pain: Pain conſorted with Gerard: Gerard wiſhed for opportunities of ſhewing Pain more *ſolid marks of his friendſhip*. Pain profeſſed, that Gerard's *eſteem* ſhould be the only recompence. Thus, a penſion was offered, which was only declined; and a bribe was given, though it was not accepted *. The American world grew tired of pertneſs and recrimination, when it appeared, that againſt Deane nothing could be proved, while Pain only ſhewed his petulance, without diſcloſing ſecrets.

Pain's

* See thoſe intrigues detailed by Pain himſelf, with little prudence and no forecaſt, in Alm. Rem. 1780, Part I. p. 294—297. The following *public papers* will ſupply what is defective in *Pain's detail*:

" SIR, *Philadelphia, Jan.* 13, 1779.

" It is with real ſatisfaction, that I execute the order of Congreſs for tranſmitting to you the incloſed copy of an act of the 12th inſtant, on a ſubject rendered important by affecting the dignity of Congreſs, the honour of their great ally, and the intereſt of both nations.

" The explicit diſavowal and high diſapprobation of Congreſs, relative to the publications referred to in this act, will, I flatter myſelf, be no leſs ſatisfactory to his moſt Chriſtian

Pain's head, being thus ſhorn of its political honours, was ere long crowned with academic laurels. He was made *maſter of arts* by the univerſity

Majeſty, than pleaſing to the people of theſe ſtates. Nor have I the leaſt doubt but that every attempt to injure the reputation of either, or impair their mutual confidence, will meet with the indignation and reſentment of both.

"I have the honour, &c.

"To the Hon. the Sieur Gerard, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France. "JOHN JAY."

In Congreſs, *January* 12, 1779.

"Congreſs reſumed the conſideration of the publications in the Pennſylvania Packet of 2d and 5th inſtant, under the title of *Common Senſe* to the Public, on Mr. *Deane's affair*, of which Mr. *Thomas Pain, Secretary to the Committee for foreign affairs*, has acknowledged himſelf to be the author; and alſo the memorials of the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of France of the 5th and 10th inſtant, reſpecting the ſaid publications; whereupon, *Reſolved unanimouſly*, That in anſwer to the memorials of the Hon. Sieur Gerard, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of the 5th and 10th inſtant, the Preſident be directed to aſſure the ſaid Miniſter, that Congreſs do fully, and in the cleareſt and moſt explicit manner, diſavow the publications referred to in the ſaid memorials; and as they are convinced by indiſputable evidence, that the ſupplies ſhipped in the Amphitrite, Seine, and Mercury, were not a preſent, and that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the great and generous ally of theſe United States, did not preface his alliance with any ſupplies whatever ſent to America, ſo they have not authoriſed the writer of the ſaid publications to make any ſuch aſſertions as are contained therein; but on the contrary, do highly diſapprove of the ſame."

To

ſity of Pennſylvania, after the tumult of the times had *driven* his old antagoniſt, *the preſident*, away. He was choſen a member of the American Philoſophical Society, when it was revived by the Pennſylvania legiſlature, in 1780; and our *Anarch* had himſelf the ſatisfaction of ſigning the act of revival, as clerk of the general aſſembly. He had the comfort of knowing, that though he had made enemies by his petulance, he had gained friends by his patriotiſm. And when the Congreſs had rejected him, as unworthy of truſt, the aſſembly of

To which Mr. Gerard returned the following anſwer:

"SIR, *Philadelphia, Jan.* 14, 1779.

"I have received the letter with which you honoured me on the 13th inſtant, incloſing me the Reſolve of Congreſs in anſwer to the repreſentations I had the honour to make them on the 5th and 10th.

"I intreat you to receive and to expreſs to Congreſs, the great ſenſibility with which I felt their frank, noble, and categorical manner of deſtroying thoſe *falſe* and *dangerous* inſinuations, which might miſlead ignorant people, and put arms into the hands of the common enemy.

"To the King, my maſter, Sir, no proofs are neceſſary to the foundation of a confidence in the firm and conſtant adherence of Congreſs to the principles of the alliance; but his Majeſty will always behold with pleaſure the meaſures which Congreſs may take to preſerve inviolate its reputation; and it is from the ſame conſideration, I flatter myſelf, he will find my repreſentations on the 7th of December equally worth his conſideration.

"I am, &c.

"GERARD."

"Publiſhed by order of Congreſs,

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec."

Pennſylvania, which had been purged of Quakers by his pen, thought him fit for its clerk.

But though the Congreſs had wholly rejected Pain, he did not totally reject the Congreſs: yet, all that he could write, or others could do, did not prevent the bankruptcy of Congreſs, in March, 1780, when the Congreſs paper ceaſed to circulate. He gave the American citizens, ſoon after, *A Criſis Extraordinary* *. But their ears were callous to the voice of the charmer. The pen had ceaſed to influence, during the clamour of contention, the intrigues of cabal, and the diſtreſſes of war. Our *Anarch* cheered them from time to time with another *Criſis*, till his *Criſis*, becoming common, was no longer a Criſis; and was, therefore, read without attention, and thrown away without efficacy.

Meantime Pain, feeling his inſignificance, or deſiring change, accompanied the younger Laurence to France, during the winter of 1780-1. What aid he could give to his ſolicitations for military ſtores, at the court of France, it is not eaſy to conceive. While he was at L'Orient, in May 1781, preparing for their return, the Anna Tereſa packet boat for New-York was carried into France, by the Madame French privateer. And this event gave him an opportunity of peruſing the miniſters diſpatches, which Laurence carried to Congreſs, in

* Alm. Rem. 1781. part 1. pag. 131.

Septem-

in September 1781, when they both returned to Philadelphia *.

Hoſtilities ſeemed to ceaſe of themſelves, in 1782, when mere wearineſs of paying alternately, for victory and defeat, prompted the belligerent powers to aſk each other, *Why are we at war?*

The Abbé Raynal haſtened to give his hiſtory of *the Revolution of America*, even before it was really atchieved †. Of the crudities, which the ſedentary Abbé had been collecting for years, he now made a copious diſcharge. This *galimafrèe*, the academy of Lyons received with applauſe. The American citizens heard the Abbé with diſguſt rather than diſapprobation. But it was his facts more than his falſities, his independence more than his ſervility, which gave them offence: he had aſſerted ‡, that *none of the energetic cauſes, which had produced ſo many revolutions, exiſted among them*; neither religion, nor laws, had been outraged; the blood of no martyr, or patriot, had ſtreamed upon their ſcaf-

* Rights, part ii. p. 95. He there gives an account of that whole adventure, but with ſome circumſtances, which create diſtruſt. The fact is, that the original diſpatches, which were dated the 7th of March, 1781, were publiſhed in the Amſterdam Gazette of the 11th of June, 1781, and were afterwards republiſhed in the Engliſh Regiſters. Yet, he pretends, with his uſual ſelf-ſufficiency, to have ſeen in thoſe original diſpatches, *the ſtupidity of the Engliſh cabinet* far more than he otherwiſe could have done.

† It was publiſhed at London, in December, 1781.

‡ Page 126.

folds

ſolds. He does not praiſe them as men, who fought like heroes, after they had drawn their ſwords, without real provocation *. And above all, he had on falſe pretences obtained our *Anarch's metaphyſics*, and ſold them as his own; thus borrowing Pain's *morals* with his *maxims*.

In Auguſt, 1782, Pain reclaimed his property, by a *letter to the Abbé Raynal on the affairs of North America* †. As the plagiariſm of the Abbé was obvious, it was eaſy to convict him; but where he had entrenched himſelf in facts, it was more difficult to diſlodge him. The Abbé meant to ſay, that, in fact, the blood of no martyr had been ſhed; no patriot had hung on the ſcaffold; no American citizen had been dragged to a dungeon; all which had been the energetic cauſes of revolutions in the European world. Againſt the fact, Pain quoted *the declaratory act*, which left the colonies *no rights*

* Page 103.

‡ This publication gave Pain's old antagoniſt, *the preſident*, an opportunity of ſneering at his *illiterature*. Here is a letter written to an Abbé, ſaid he, who is treated in it throughout as a third perſon. "The greater part of the Abbé's writings *appear to me* UNCENTRAL." [P. 51.] Appear to me to be *eccentric*, the author probably intended. "It is *a uſeful* addition." [P. 12.] As if he *was* [*were*] glad to get from them. [P. 12.] "It is one of *thoſe kind* of dominions." [P. 70.] *The preſident* might have quoted many ſuch *peccadilloes* from Pain's writings; but it ought to be always remembered, that our author is but a mere *Engliſh ſcholar*; and few *Engliſh ſcholars* can write the *Engliſh language*.

at all: by it, the blood of martyrs was ſhed *virtually*; patriots were hanged *virtually*; citizens were dragged to dungeons *virtually*. *There is no deſpotiſm to which this iniquitous law did not extend*, contended our *Anarch* furiouſly *. Yet the Abbé could not be perſuaded, that *this almoſt metaphyſical queſtion was of ſufficient importance to make the people riſe* †. Alas! is it not, in every country, and in every age, *almoſt metaphyſical queſtions*, which have agitated mankind, and even now agitate the world! Our own hiſtorian of the laſt century, has treated this ſubject finely:

" When men fell out they knew not why;
" When hard words, jealouſies, and fears,
" Set folks together by the ears;
" And made them fight, like mad, or drunk,
" For dame religion, as for punk:"

Pain turned awhile from the Abbé to teach America and Europe the nature of *paper money*. In five years the Congreſs had iſſued about twelve millions ſterling, in dollars, of paſteboard. This emiſſion of paper was the Congreſs mode of finance, which, while it prevailed, ſaved twelve millions of taxes for carrying on the war; and conſequently, the event to the people was exactly the ſame, ſaid the ſophiſter, whether they ſunk twelve millions of money, by the depretiation of paper, or paid twelve millions by taxation. As early as March, 1780,

* Letter, p. 5. † Revolution, p. 127.

common

common conſent conſigned it to reſt, with that kind of regard, which the long ſervices of inanimate beings inſenſibly obtain from mankind *. His artifice is remarkable for mentioning every circumſtance of commendation, while he ſuppreſſed every kind of objection. He concealed, that the Congreſs made their paſteboards a legal payment of every debt, though they were of no more value than *the almanacks of the laſt year*. The fraudulent were by this means enabled to pay the honeſt their juſt debts with waſte paper. The rich were thereby defrauded, but the poor were not enriched. All property and all labour were depretiated by the ſame ſtroke of fraud. A tranſaction, which ſo violently ſhook the intereſt and happineſs of a country, has ſeldom occurred before. The Abbé was ſo ſimple as to conſider this diſcredited paper as an eſſential part of the Congreſs debt. Not ſo our *Anarch*: with an aſtoniſhing apathy he aſſerted, in 1782, *with us its fate is now determined*. This is a fine illuſtration of the maxims and practice of the anarchical reformers, who care not, when in purſuit of their theories, whoſe heart they rend, whoſe property they waſte, whoſe ſafety they endanger.

Pain was more happy, though not more grammatical, in ſhewing, that the Abbé, as an hiſtorian, haſtens thro' his narrations as *if he was glad* to get from them †. It muſt be allowed to be true, as he aſſerted ‡, that it is yet too ſoon to write the

* Letter to Raynal, p. 22-3,

† Letter, p. 12. ‡ Letter, p. 2.

hiſtory

hiſtory of the Revolution; and whoever attempts it precipitately will unavoidably miſtake characters and circumſtances: Yet it is never too ſoon to inculcate on nations the performance of contracts, or on individuals the practice of honeſty; becauſe both form the ſtrongeſt cement of ſociety.

Pain had ſcarcely diſpatched his letter to Abbé Raynal, when he wrote an epiſtle to the Earl of Shelburne *. The noble Earl had ſaid in Parliament, it ſeems, in a tone which ſtill vibrates in the ears of Engliſhmen, *that when Great Britain ſhall acknowledge American independence, the ſun of Britain's glory is ſet for ever.* Our author reaſons and laughs with our Parliamentary prophet, through a little pamphlet of twenty-eight pages. It required not his ridicule to make folly ridiculous. We have outlived the time; yet many a parliamentary prophecy is ſtill unfulfilled. Great-Britain continues ſtill to walk with *a giant*'s port among the powers of the earth, even without the help of the Earl's energy. Political prophecies made the Earl a Marquis; and the Marquis, in return, makes to this day political prophecies.

Pain publiſhed his *laſt Criſis* on the 19th of April, 1783, the ſame day that a ceſſation of hoſtilities was proclaimed. This Eſſay was ſoon printed as a pamphlet, entitled *Pain's Thoughts on the Peace.*

* A letter to the Earl of Shelburne, which was publiſhed at Philadelphia, the 29th of October, 1782, on his lordſhip's ſpeech of the 10th of July, 1782.

In eighteen pages, he concluded his valedictory oration in the following ſentence: *Now, Gentlemen, you are independent, ſit down, and be happy.* But, happineſs is not always in our own power. Without food, and raiment, and ſhelter, what man, ever was happy? When their rejoicings had ceaſed, the American citizens were all ſurprized, that they were not happy. What happineſs, alas! could they enjoy? They were all diſappointed in their hopes; they were all exhauſted in their fortunes; they were all ſuſpicious in their tempers; they were all uneaſy in their families. In all this *wailing and gnaſhing of teeth*, our *anarch*

"Found nothing left but poverty and praiſe."

The American Revolution is a happy inſtance of what may be done by anarchical reformers, who run furiouſly forward, in purſuit of their theories, without *regarding the end.* In order to obtain independence, every principle, which ought to actuate the human heart, was weakened; all the maxims, which knit ſociety together, were impugned; and government, which is the efficacious energy of political unions, was contemned by Pain as *an evil.* Subordination conſequently ceaſed; juſtice fled from the land; freedom, and property, and life, were no longer ſafe; the aſſociation among the States diſſolved in its own inſufficiency; and the Congreſs continued to exiſt indeed, but unavailing in its efforts, and diſgraced by its impo-

tence. The American Union was of courſe little reſpected in Europe. The American Citizens were diſtruſted naturally by foreigners, when they diſtruſted one another.

Whether Pain ſmiled at the miſchief, which his pen had done, or lamented that his preſcriptions had not produced happineſs, it is impoſſible to tell. He ſeems to have been ſilent during the uproar of anarchy, when *Common Senſe* could not be heard. He certainly ſuffered all the miſeries of dependent penury. He buſied himſelf for ſeveral years, in ſoliciting the American Aſſemblies to grant him ſome reward, for having contributed by his labours to make the American citizens independent, and miſerable. New York conferred on him forfeited lands at New-Rochelle, which, as they were neither tenanted nor cultivated, brought him no annual income. Pennſylvania gave him five hundred pounds; which, at ſix per cent. may be conſidered as a penſion of thirty pounds a year, current money, or eighteen pounds ſterling; and thus were united, what he had determined to avoid, *penſion* and *Pain* in the ſame paragraph *. Whether any other of the States, or the Congreſs, relieved

* In the Maryland Journal, dated the 31ſt of December, 1784, there is the following article: "On the 6th inſtant, his Excellency John Dickenſon, Preſident of the State of Penſylvania, ſent a meſſage to the Aſſembly reſpecting Mr. Thomas Pain, the author of Common Senſe and other political pieces; ſtrongly recommending to their notice his ſervices and ſituation."

his neceſſities, we have never heard. They were all unable to help themſelves, diſtracted as they were by his maxims. He became generally unpopular, as his character was better underſtood. As his principles and his pen were no longer of much uſe to the United States, Pain departed for France, in Autumn 1787; leaving the American Citizens to build up, as they could, the ſeveral fabricks, which he had contributed ſo powerfully to overturn; and a young woman at New-York, of a reputable family, to deplore the effects of a profligacy, that will probably prevent his return to his *beloved America.*

What writers on government ſuppoſe to have happened, when men exiſted as ſavages, actually occurred, in America, during September, 1787. Three millions of people, who were urged by their miſeries, aſſembled at Philadelphia, not indeed in perſon, but by delegates, to conſider their preſent calamities, and provide for their future happineſs. When theſe deputies met in *Convention*, with Waſhington at their head, they did not begin their deliberations, by reading our author's *Common Senſe.* All had ſeen the ſufferings of the people. But conſidering the general miſery as *a fact*, they proceeded to inveſtigate the cauſe of that *fact*, which could not be diſputed. By running furiouſly in queſt of private liberty and of public independence, the people, ſaid they, have involved themſelves in anarchy, and reduced the States to imbecility. WE conſider

der then, ſaid the Convention and Waſhington, ſelf-legiſlation, or anarchy, as the efficient cauſe of all our miſeries. WE muſt remove *the cauſe* before we attempt to free the people from *its effects*. WE muſt put *reſtraints* upon *ſelf-legiſlation*, upon *ſelf-actions*, upon *ſelf-redreſs*. WE muſt ſacrifice the principles, the paſſions, the prejudices, of *one*, to the ſafety of *millions*. WE muſt *reſtrain* the *liberty* of *each*, in order that the *whole* may be *free*. WE muſt, in this manner, eſtabliſh *reſtraint* as the fundamental principle of *the Society*, into which we are about to enter.

In that numerous convention, there were men of republican principles, who, with Pain's *Common Senſe* in their hands, and their own importance in their heads, ſpoke a very different language. With our laſt breath, ſaid they, WE will retain *ſelf-legiſlation*, that inherent right of man to *will* for himſelf. WE would as ſoon relinquiſh life itſelf, as part with *ſelf-action*; becauſe what are free-men, if they cannot *do as they pleaſe?* WE will never agree to be reſtrained, they exclaimed, becauſe, *reſtraint* is the *death* of *liberty*.

In reply to theſe declamations, the convention and Waſhington begged them to remember the people's miſeries: you have ſeen, that it is *ſelf-legiſlation*, or the power of willing as each thinks proper, which is the real cauſe of all their ſufferings: *ſelf-action*, or the *practice* of doing what each thinks fit, is the genuine effect of that efficient cauſe; have

have you not felt how the young abuſe the old; how the ſtrong overpower the weak; how the wicked oppreſs the virtuous: can you enjoy your own liberty where ſuch abuſes exiſt, and where all legiſlate, and none obey? If you wiſh to be ſafe, you muſt relinquiſh this ſtate of *ſavageneſs* for *ſociety*: now, what is ſociety, but a compact, either expreſſed, or underſtood, that private will ſhall ſubmit to public will; that individual action ſhall be ſubordinate to general direction; that no *one* ſhall *will* or *do* any action, which is inconſiſtent with the rules and agency of the many: and, what is this ſubordination and this obedience but reſtraint, that muſt neceſſarily be the foundation of ſociety, which has been variouſly modified in different climes, as men were directed by their various neceſſities.

The few in this convention were, in this manner, obliged to ſubmit to the wills, and what is of more importance, to the reaſons of the many. And the convention and Waſhington proceeded to form their compact, which is the record of their union; to eſtabliſh their conſtitution, which is the detail of its end; and to ſettle their government, which is the means of effectuating *the end* of *their union*. Upon theſe reaſonings they acted, though they were not unanimous. And finding it impracticable to ſecure, either to individuals or communities, both dependence and independence, both ſubordination and ſovereignty, they modified their

their ſyſtem, ſo as beſt to provide for the intereſt and ſafety of all *. Hiſtory will record it as an indubitable proof of their wiſdom, that they built as much as poſſible upon old foundations; preſerving their old common law, their old acts of aſſembly, their old modes of public proceeding.

In this manner, and upon thoſe principles, was ſettled the preſent American government, which has anſwered in practice beyond expectation. It is of importance to inveſtigate the cauſes of that eſtabliſhment, and of that efficiency. Pain, who had inculcated by his *Common Senſe* †, *that no power, which needs checking, can be from God*, was now fortunately abſent. Sad diſtreſs had induced the people to liſten to plain truth; they had no longer a diſpoſition to believe our *Anarch*'s doctrine, that *the beſt government is a neceſſary evil:* and recent experience had fully convinced them, that there can be no ſecurity for property, freedom, and life, unleſs reſtraint be impoſed by the laws, and government be obeyed, as the energy from which ſocial happineſs can alone be enjoyed.

Meantime, Pain ſafely arrived in Paris, the beginning of 1787. He carried with him his fame as a writer, and the model of a bridge, to ſhew that he had a genius, equally formed for mechanics, as for politics. The French academy viewed his model, and thanked him for the ſight; but whe-

* See Waſhington's Letter before-mentioned.

† Pa e 8.

ther

ther he gave the people of France, *who were then beginning to think for themſelves*, a leſſon or two of political happineſs, we have never heard. It is, however, certain, that ſince the epoch of his viſit, the French have proceeded regularly,

> " In falling out with that, or this,
> " And finding ſomewhat ſtill amiſs."

Our Anarch, like other animals who delight in ſavage life, longed to return to his old haunts. And he arrived at the White Bear, Piccadilly, on the 3d of September, 1787, juſt thirteen years after his departure for Philadelphia. Neither the length of time, nor the change of circumſtances, prevented his former acquaintances from recognizing the ſpecific ſtaymaker, the individual grocer, the identical exciſeman: but as he had taken French leave, he met ſome *old friends with new faces*. In London, he remained only long enough to form new political connections. Before the end of September he haſtened to Thetford, where he found his mother, at the advanced age of ninety, and oppreſſed by penury. At the æra of American independence, this dutiful ſon had remitted to his neceſſitous parents twenty pounds, in payment, no doubt, of the money, which had been lent him on bond *, before his emigration. He at laſt talked of allowing his mother nine ſhillings a week, to be

* See his mother's letter before, p. 26.

paid

paid by one Whiteſide, an American merchant, in London. But owing to the confuſion in that trader's affairs, or to ſome other cauſe, this allowance was ſoon ſtopt. At Thetford, he ſeldom ſaw the *companions of his youth*; he went little out, being wholly occupied in reading, and in writing.

When Pain had finiſhed his reading and his writing at Thetford, he returned to London: and before the end of the year 1787, he publiſhed his *Proſpects on the Rubicon*; or, *an Inveſtigation into the Cauſes and Conſequences of the Politics to be agitated at the Meeting of Parliament* *. This is an octavo tract of ſixty-eight pages, which treats of *the ſtate of the nation*. The affairs of Holland, which were then unſettled, are now a ſubject for hiſtory, which will do juſtice to the conductors of a great tranſaction to a happy end. Beſide tem-

* The critics aſcertained the authorſhip by collation of the ſtyle. Thus, in page 59 of his *Proſpects*, it is ſaid, "there is *a* uniformity in all the works of nature."—"But there is ano-"ther circumſt*ance* that *do* not fail to impreſs foreigners," page 63.—"Where is the profit of manufactures, if there is "[be] no encreaſe of money," page 39.—"But it ſignifies "not what name it bears, *if* the capital is [be] not equal to "the redemption," page 35. "The amazing encreaſe *and* "magnitude of the paper currency now floating in England, "expoſ*es* her to a ſhock as much more tremendous than the "ſhock of the South Sea Funds, as the quantity of credit *and* "paper currency *is* now greater than *they* were at that time." page 24.—But though Democrit*es* [Democritus] could ſcarcely "have forbore [forborn] laughing [laughter] at the folly," page 2.

porary matters, our author gave his opinion of money, credit, and banking; of agriculture, and manufacture; of commerce and ſhipping: but, by remaining too long in America, he had left honeſt writers to teach the people not to be terrified by any factious pamphleteer. Pain's *proſpects*, which only led to deluſion, ſoon faded from the public eye. And the news-papers had the *impertinence* to tell him, that he who had lately ſhewn America the road to independence, and now endeavoured to exalt France over England, was a fit ſubject for tranſportation to the one, or a proper object for the lamp-poſt of the other. The wiſe exclaimed, how lenient is the Britiſh government! Here is a wretch, who, after being driven from his country by his crimes, ruſhed into rebellion, levied war againſt the King, and defied the nation; yet is again received, without moleſtation; is protected as a good ſubject, and an honeſt man, though he again buſies himſelf in committing freſh offences againſt the laws of the land, and once more attempts to injure the nation, by miſrepreſenting her circumſtances.

During the year 1788, Pain was chiefly occupied in building his bridge. For this end, he made a journey to Rotheram, in Yorkſhire, in order to ſuperintend the caſting of the iron, by that ingenious citizen, Mr. Walker. While thus occupied at Rotheram, his French familiarity is ſaid not to have much pleaſed the Engliſh ladies.

Their

Their diſpleaſure induced Mr. Walker to turn Pain out of his houſe. This did not, however, prevent the operations of the furnace: and the bridge was at length erected, in a cloſe at Leaſing-Green; being an arch conſtructed of iron, one hundred and ten feet in the ſpan, five feet from the ſpring, and twenty-two feet in breadth. It was erected chiefly at the charge of Mr. Walker; but the project had coſt the projector a large ſum, which was moſtly furniſhed by Mr. Whiteſide, the American merchant, who ſoon diſcovered, that *advances* without *returns* leave the trader, ere long, without money or credit. This bridge is to this day ſhewn at the Yorkſhire-Stingo, for a ſhilling *. As this was not the firſt iron bridge, which was known to the Engliſh world, it is not eaſy to diſcover, why the projector, who had a model, ſhould incur ſo great an expence merely to make a ſhow.

It is, however, happy for mankind, that imprudence and folly ſeldom eſcape puniſhment. Whiteſide, by truſting much money in bad hands, ſoon became a bankrupt. The aſſignees, ſeeing ſo great a ſum as ſix hundred and twenty pounds charged againſt Pain, cauſed him to be arreſted on the 29th of October, 1789, at the White Bear, in

* Pain's bridge is no longer ſhewn for a ſhilling. It was taken to pieces, in October 1791; in order that other erections might be built in its place; and that the rent of the cloſe in which it ſtood, might be paid: the timber of it was ſold to the neighbouring builders, and the caſtings of iron were ſent to Yorkſhire, whence they came.

Piccadilly. He was carried to that commodious ſponging houſe, which is kept by Armſtrong, in Cary-ſtreet. Here he lay, for three weeks, *in durance vile*. Thoſe benevolent perſons, Benjamin Vaughan, Mr. Hoare the quaker, and William Vaughan, all intereſted themſelves in his fate. They aſked the aſſignees, if they knew, that they confined the *great writer* of *Common Senſe?* Our concern, ſaid the creditors, is not with the dignity, but the identity of the debtor: Will you pay his debt, to obtain his freedom? Upon the departure of his viſitors, without obtaining his liberty, Pain is ſaid to have hummed—

——————"They promiſe to pity;
But ſhift you for money from friend to friend."

He now applied to Meſſ. Clegget and Murdock, two American traders of great reſpectability; pleading his ſervices to them as Americans, in giving them independence. Without conſidering themſelves as much obliged to him for confining, rather than enlarging their trade, they became his bail. And Pain, paying four hundred and ſixty pounds, which he had at length received from America, and giving his own note for one hundred and ſixty more, was ſet free, in November, 1789, to purſue his projects, and to ſcribble pamphlets.

While thus reſtrained in Cary-ſtreet, by a power which he had never authorized, our adventurer was not inattentive to French affairs. In France he

he had beheld the fair bloſſoms of liberty in the genial Spring; he had ſeen the ſhoots of Summer's invigoration; and he haſtened to that happy land, in order to partake in the autumnal maturity of the faireſt fruit, that Anarchs had ever cultivated in the fields of theory. While thus gratified, by enjoying the harveſt of his own labours, he had the additional pleaſure of peruſing Dr. Price's celebrated ſermon, which had been frowned from England, into France. But, while he ſaw the people of France *thinking* and *acting* for themſelves, he heard with aſtoniſhment, no doubt, *that the people of England were about to reſign the prerogative of thinking* *.

In this *Criſis*, Pain re-croſſed the channel, in order to proteſt againſt this *vaſſalage idea* †, and to avert that *ſubmiſſion of themſelves and their poſterity, like bond men and bond-women, for ever* ‡. He was encountered, as he ran to London, by Mr. Burke's pamphlet, which was publiſhed a few days before the ſad celebration of the French Revolution, on the 5th of November, 1790. He might have heard, indeed, what doubtleſs quickened his ſteps, that ſuch a work was in the preſs, and though long delayed, was at length to appear. Never was the public expectation more amply gratified. Thouſands and tens of thouſands of Mr. Burke's pam-

* Proſpects on the Rubicon, p. 29.

† Rights of Man, p. 82.

‡ Idem.

phlet

phlet were ſold, without the recommendation of the Conſtitutional Society. But, it was not the wiſdom of his policy, or the zeal of his patriotiſm, the learning of his illuſtrations, or the burſts of his eloquence, which captivated the *Engliſh* nation. No: The univerſal applauſe of the Engliſh people was an indubitable proof of their genuine ſentiments: It was a declaration of their love for the king; of their attachment to the conſtitution; of their veneration for the laws; of gratitude to their fathers, who had tranſmitted to them the form of government, which enſures their preſent happineſs. To Mr. Burke's pamphlet, every week produced a new anſwer. But, as his antagoniſts fought him on his own ground of law, their aims were feebly directed, and their attacks were eaſily repulſed. The Anarchs cried out for a new aſſault, and with new weapons, according to the approved tactics of wordy warfare.

In this manner was Pain induced to furbiſh up his old weapons of *Common Senſe*, to faſhion *his Criſis*, ordinary and extraordinary, into a new cuiraſs, and to review *his proſpects*, that he might take the *vantage ground* to

> " Decide all controverſies by
> " Infallible artillery."

A few months labour produced the far famed pamphlet, yclept *Rights of Man*. It was ſubmitted to the reviſal of Mr. Brand Hollis, and a committee

mittee of *Democrats*. It was fitted by them for the preſs, after ſome ſtruggles, between the deſires of the author, and the wiſhes of his patrons. It was printed, in February 1791, for that worthy citizen, Mr. J. Johnſon, in St. Paul's Church-yard; but his regard for *the ſhop* induced him to decline the ſelling of prohibited goods, though he occaſionally dealt in Dr. Prieſtley's wares. This unexpected refuſal cauſed a month's delay. A few copies were, however, ſmuggled into private hands. Impatience was now apparent on every face. The deſire of gratification became, as uſual, more ardent, in proportion as the object was denied. The men-midwives determined to deprive the child of its virility, rather than ſo hopeful an infant ſhould be with-held from the world. At length, on the 13th of March, 1791, this mutilated brat was delivered to the public, by Mr. J. S. Jordan, at No. 166, Fleet-ſtreet.

To the parent this was a moment of peculiar anxiety. Beſide his cares for his child, he feared, that the meſſengers of the preſs might be even then prowling for their prey. He found ſhelter and concealment in the hoſpitable houſe of the ſaid Mr. Hollis; and in order to carry the hounds off their ſcent, the French envoy ran about, whiſpering in every ear, *that he had laſt night procured Mr. Pain a paſs for Paris*; though every Engliſhman, to whom this tale was told, did not hear with the ſame patience, that foreign agents ſhould trouble them-

themſelves with Engliſh affairs. While conceal-ment was thus ſtudiouſly conſulted, the meſſengers of the preſs did not trouble themſelves about Mr. Pain, or his pamphlet.

Such was the agency by which this production was brought into the notice of the Engliſh nation. There were numbers, no doubt, who praiſed it; becauſe they wiſhed that its tenets were triumphant. There are ſome who, in every country, rejoice to ſee real learning defied by groſs illiterature. And the Conſtitutional Society, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſpread conſtitutional information, ſtrenuouſly re-commended this conſtitutional tract to the peruſal of the people. But it was ſtill to encounter the critics. This is a race of men, whoſe hearts are generally contracted by years; whoſe judgments, being matured by experience, are not often capti-vated by novelty; and whoſe pens are ſometimes dipped in gall, by an exceſſive impartiality.

After a decent procraſtination, the critics re-viewed our author's performance. They divided their ſtrictures into two heads; the manner, and the matter. With regard to *the firſt*, they ob-ſerved, that as the language immediately offers itſelf to the reader's eye, and muſt ultimately inform the reader's underſtanding; ſo the lan-guage is an eſſential object of the critic's animad-verſion. Of ſtyle, *perſpicuity* is the principal qua-lity, without which, all other qualities are uſeleſs; but without *grammatical purity*, that great eſſential

of

of language cannot be obtained. Like fair critics, they gave examples, as the beſt proofs of their precepts; and they arranged their obſervations, and ſtated their quotations, under diſtinct claſſes, in the following order:

THE BAD GRAMMAR OF A CHILD *.
THE BAD GRAMMAR OF A MAN †.

Under the head of *grammatical purity*, the critics proceeded to remark, that pure Engliſh neceſſarily requires, that the words be Engliſh; that their conſtruction be in the Engliſh idiom; that ſuch words ſhould be employed to expreſs the preciſe

* In page 15, Mr. Pain ſays, "There *is* [are] ſome propoſ*als* for a declaration of rights."—In p. 34, "There *are* [is] "in all countries, a large *claſs* of people of that deſcrip*tion*, "which, in England, *are* [is] called the mob."—In p. 35, "A vaſt *maſs* of mankind *are* [is] *degradedly* thrown into the "back ground."—In p. 45, "Becauſe there *have* [has] been "*an upſtart* of governments, thruſting themſelves between."—In p. 66, "The *folly* of titles *have* [has] fallen."—In p. 92, "As money matters *was* [were] the object."—In p. 100, "When their worth *and* conſequence *is* [are] conſidered."

† In page 6, "But ſuch is the ingenuity of his hope, or the "malignity of his deſpair, that *it* [they] furniſh*es* him with new "pretences." In p. 56, "Have *ſit*" for *ſat* or *ſitten*. In p. 71, "The greateſt characters have *roſe*," for *riſen*. In p. 72, "Whether the archbiſhop *precedes*," [precede.] In p. 75. "If he believe*s*," [believe]. In p. 81, "If any matter *comes*," [come.] In p. 115, "What are the preſent governments of Europe, but a *ſcene* [ſcenes] of iniquity." In p. 116, "Since the taking [of] the Baſtile." But of ſuch quotations from Mr. Pain's pamphlet there would be no end!

meaning, which cuſtom has affixed to them. The fault of uſing words, which are not Engliſh, has been called by grammarians

BARBARISM*.

The ſecond fault, which conſiſts of not making uſe of the words in the Engliſh idiom, philologiſts have agreed to denominate

SOLECISM†.

The third and laſt claſs of faults againſt purity of language, the critics arranged under the head of

IMPROPRIETY‡.

The critics proceeded, *Secondly*, as they had propoſed, from the language to the ſentiment; from the

* Thus Mr. Pain uſes the following words which are not Engliſh: in p. 67, *Punyiſm*; in p. 74, *Intolleration*; in p. 77, *Anti-political*; in p. 35, *Degradedly*; in p. 80, *Deſignates*; in p. 81, *Right-angled*; in p. 85, *Priorily*; in p. 96, *Diſreſpected*; in p. 104, *High-beneficed*; in p. 110, *Impreſcriptible*.

† In p. 71, "He *degenerate* the human ſpecies:" *Degenerate* is not an *active* verb. In p. 80, "Neither can he uſe it *conſiſtent* [conſiſtently] with the conſtitution." In p. 84, *both* is uſed to couple more plurals than two. In p. 85, "The nation ſhowed no diſpoſition to *riſe* [rouſe] from its lethargy." In p. 95, "The crowd threw out *trite* expreſſions:" he perhaps meant *tart*. In p. 96, "The *king*, as if *unconſulted upon* with the cabinet." In p. 101, "They *ſituated* [placed] themſelves in three chambers." *Soleciſms* abound ſo much in Mr. Pain's pamphlet, that they may, indeed, be ſaid to occur in every paragraph.

‡ In page 88, Mr. Pain remarks, "That *the de*plomatic character is the narroweſt ſphere of ſociety that a man can act in:"

the *manner* to the *matter* of our author's great performance.

This is a diſquiſition, ſaid they, with regard to RIGHTS OF MAN. He ſhews his intention to be, not to treat of the whole rights of mankind, but of particular rights. And he follows up his evident purpoſe, by enlarging chiefly on the *ſavage rights* of men, without regarding much their *ſocial rights*.

When he dedicated his book to *George Waſhington*, he ſeemed however, ſaid they, to depart ſomewhat from his previous deſign, by wiſhing, that *the* rights of man might become as univerſal as Waſhington's benevolence. They doubted the propriety of our author's ſentiment; becauſe *the*

thus, with his uſual violence, he converts his *ambaſſador* into a *globe*. "And a *de*plomatic," [*di*plomatic] he adds, "is a ſort of unconnected atom, continually repelling and repelled." "But this," ſays Mr. Pain, page 88, "was not the caſe with Dr. Franklin. He was not *the de*plomatic of a *court*, but of *man*." He meant to have ſaid, this philoſopher is the *envoy* of mankind. In p. 81, Mr. Pain ſays, "That the addreſſes of the Engliſh parliaments are not of foreign extraction, but originate from the Norman Conqueſt: they [the ſaid addreſſes] are evidently of the *vaſſalage* claſs of manners; and," he adds, "that this *vaſſalage* idea *and* ſtile of ſpeaking *was* [were] not got rid of in 1688." "Submiſſion," he proceeds, "is wholly a *vaſſalage term*, repugnant to the dignity of freedom, and an *echo* of the language uſed at the conqueſt." Thus, *ſubmiſſion* is an *echo* of *language!!* "The graceful pride of truth preſerves," he aſſerts, "in every latitude of life the *right-angled* character of man." Such *rectangular improprieties* of language, ill-natured critics might detect in every paragraph of one hundred and ſixty pages.

rights of man muſt be as univerſal as the reſidence of man.

The critics were thence led into a very learned inquiry as to *the cauſe, that* NONSENSE *ſo often eſcapes being detected, both by* THE WRITER *and* THE READER. They were at no loſs to diſcover various cauſes of this philological phenomenon; namely, confuſion of thought; affectation of excellence; want of meaning: and conſidering, that Pain's pamphlet had been affectedly praiſed and politically propagated, they ſeized ſo good an opportunity to give illuſtrations of their uſeful inquiry, by exhibiting various examples of our author's

NONSENSE*.

After ſo learned an expoſition of the cauſes *why writers write* and *readers read* NONSENSE, without

* In page 48 it is ſaid, "That the duty of man is not a "wilderneſs of turnpike gates, through which he is to paſs by "tickets *from* one to the other." Here, ſaid the critics, the author in attempting to give a ſpecimen of fine writing, wrote without meaning. In page 66, Mr. Pain quotes it as a maxim, "*Titles* are but *nicknames*, and every nickname is a *title*;" and he ſtates it as a *fact*, "That it is properly from the elevated "mind of France, that the folly of titles have [has] fallen." This writer is not more happy in his religious opinions; in p. 74, "Toleration is not the *oppoſite* of *intoleration*, but is the "*counterfeit* of it. Both are deſpotiſms; the former is church "and ſtate, and the latter is church and traffic." Mr. Pain was thence led on to ſpeak, in page 80, of the *fountain of honour*: "In England, *a* king is the fountain; but as this idea is evi-"dently from the Conqueſt, I ſhall make no other remark upon "it

out perceiving that they write and read *nonſenſically*, the critics proceeded regularly to review *the matter* of Mr. Pain's pamphlet under the *three heads*, into which

" it, than that it is the nature of conqueſt to turn every thing " upſide down; and as Mr. Burke will not be refuſed the pri- " vilege of ſpeaking twice, and as there are but two parts in " the figure, the *fountain* and the *ſpout*, he will be right the ſe- " cond time." After this *tranſparent* elucidation of the *fountain of honour*, he naturally tells, in p. 138, what a *parliament* is: " What is called the parliament, is made up of two houſes; " one of which is *more* hereditary, and *more* beyond the con- " troul of the nation, than what the crown, (as it is called) is " ſuppoſed to be." He goes *beyond* even this, in page 139: " The continual uſe of the word *conſtitution*, in the Engliſh " parliament, ſhews there is none; and that the whole [whole " of what?] is merely a form of government, without a conſti- " tution." As an illuſtration of this mode of writing the ſublime, the critics quoted the famous couplet of two illuſtrious dramatiſts:

" My wound is *great*, becauſe it is ſo *ſmall*;
" It would be *greater*, were it none at all!"

Mr. Pain thence deſcends to meaner matters; and gives in page 144, a *mathematical eſtimate* of the quantity of money: " Liſbon and Cadiz are the two ports into which (money) gold " and ſilver from South America are imported, and which af- " terwards divides and ſpreads *itſelf* over Europe, by means of " commerce, and increaſes the quantity of money in all parts " of Europe." The critics at laſt exclaimed:

" How vaſt a head is here without a brain!"

But they had ſoftened this ſeverity of animadverſion, had they at that time known, what is now known, that Mr. Brand Hollis and

which he divides it himſelf: *the argument*; *the hiſtory*; *the miſcellaneous*.

In anſwering Mr. Burke, ſaid they, Mr. Pain ſeldom meets his adverſary face to face. Mr. Burke every where conſiders the Britiſh conſtitution as an *actual authority*, and the legiſlative power, the executive power, and the judicial power, which are emanations from it, as *exiſting energies*, that preſerve the quiet of the public, and produce the happineſs of the people. On the other hand, Mr. Pain, throughout *his argument*, not only ſuppoſes, but aſſerts, that *the Britiſh Conſtitution no where exiſts*. He ſuppoſes what he ought to prove; he talks in oppoſition to facts; and he endeavours to perſuade others to deny the authority of thoſe laws, to which he has been himſelf obliged to ſubmit.

The great art, ſaid the critics, of Mr. Pain, as a diſputant, conſiſts in miſquoting plainly, or miſrepreſenting deſignedly, the poſitions of his adverſary. Mr. Burke had ſaid, ſarcaſtically, that every future king of England would ſucceed hereditarily to the government, in contempt of *the Conſtitutional Society*. Mr. Pain now converts by the magick

and the committee of democrats had corrected the manuſcript, and that Jordan, the bookſeller, had caſtrated the copy *.

* The caſtrating hand of Mr. Jordan appears in the title-page; he there makes Thomas Paine, *a ſecretary for foreign affairs* to Congreſs, inſtead of *the ſecretary to a committee of Congreſs*, for foreign affairs. The clerk of the Houſe of Commons, and the clerk of a committee of that Houſe, are quite diſtinct officers.

of

of his wand, this plain aſſertion of fact and law into a poſitive affirmation of an hereditary ſucceſſion *in contempt of the people:* and he thereupon enjoys, through twenty pages, the triumph of his own artifice; without reflecting, that the day of detection would come, when the ſophiſter would be exhibited to his own *ſentimental mob*, as an object of ridicule.

In treating of *rights of man*, ſaid the critics, Mr. Pain artfully refers rather to the rights of ſavages, than to the rights of *citizens*. Within the wide circumference of the globe, there has not been found a people, however ſavage, who had not ſome rules of action, and who did not live in ſociety, however imperfect it might be. A fair reaſoner, then, was bound to refer, in his argument, to thoſe rules as exiſting energies. Every nation, however civilized, or however ſavage, has its own *civil* rights, which are the reſult of thoſe energies: we ſpeak familiarly of the rights of Engliſhmen, the rights of Dutchmen, and the rights of Ruſſians. If there be a queſtion with regard to the rights of Engliſhmen, we muſt refer for a reſolution, to the laws of Engliſhmen. And, in the ſame manner, if it be inquired, what fact conſtitutes the crime of *ſwindling* in England, we muſt refer to the ſtatute, which deſcribes the offence; ſo of perjury, forgery, and other offences, which, as they infringe the rights of particular citizens, are regarded as attacks upon the whole ſociety.

All

All this was premiſed, ſaid the critics, in order to enable the reader to determine the grand queſtion, which was debated, firſt, between Dr. Price and Mr. Burke, and, afterwards, between Mr. Burke and Mr. Pain, as to the manner of *caſhiering government*, and *chuſing governors*. Among cool reaſoners, it muſt be allowed in argument, that if every man, woman, and child, in any community, were to vote for caſhiering government, they have a right to give ſuch vote, and to appoint new governors. Bur, did every man, woman, and child, ever meet for ſuch purpoſes? Never. Will every man, woman, and child, ever meet for ſuch purpoſes? Never: for it is phyſically impoſſible, that every man, woman, and child ſhould ever meet together for any purpoſe. The appointment of deputies will not conquer the difficulty. The very appointment of delegates ſuppoſes that a ſociety had been already formed; but Mr. Pain is in a ſavage ſtate; he is arguing about *rights of man* who have not yet entered into ſociety. The fact is, that Pain, with peculiar artifice, every where ſuppoſes, what he cannot prove; that mankind at ſome period exiſted *without* ſociety, and without government. He was naturally led to inſiſt both in his *Common Senſe*, and in his *Rights of Man*, that Great Britain has *no conſtitution*, and no laws; in order, that he might, with characteriſtic ſeditiouſneſs, urge the people to form tumultuouſly, a different conſtitution, and leſs ſalutary laws.

The

The queſtion of changing government, then, is to be determined by the maxims of general ſociety; by the rules of the particular ſociety of Great Britain. Thus much being ſettled, ſaid the critics, there can be no doubt, that according to the laws of the land, every man, any number of men, any community, may petition for redreſs of grievances; for the repeal of an old law, or the introduction of a new one. This is done daily, during the ſitting of parliament, and it is done rightfully.

But the queſtion is, whether, according to the laws of Great Britain, any man, any number of men, any club of men, may attempt by violence to caſhier governors, to change government, or to alter the conſtitution. The anſwer is, that the laws of Great Britain do not allow ſuch attempts; that the laws of Great Britain puniſh all perſons, as traitors, who make ſuch attempts. Thus, Lord Loughborough explained the law, upon the point, when he delivered his charge to the grand jury, in the Borough, who were to indict the rioters, in 1780 *. Thus, upon the trial of Lord George Gordon, Lord Mansfield declared the opinion of the whole court, which was not controverted by any lawyer, or any man. Lord Mansfield went a ſtep further: as there had been ſome doubts, he de-

* The critics generally uſe ſuch authorities as they have at hand: and they quoted, on this occaſion, that uſeful book Dodſley's Regiſter, 1780, p. 277, for Lord Loughborough's *celebrated charge.*

clared the opinion of the judges to be, that though every perſon, and any number of perſons, had a right to aſk for the redreſs of grievances, yet the petition muſt be preſented by no more than ten perſons, or the parties would be puniſhed as criminals *.

Yet, Pain declares, that the conſtitution of Great Britain does not exiſt; the laws not to exiſt; the government not to exiſt. We are now, ſaid the critics, diſcuſſing an important ſubject candidly. It is not ſufficient to *aſſert* any poſition, upon which *Revolutions* are to be built. Every reaſoner muſt prove his own premiſes, before he be allowed to draw his concluſions. But, as a whole nation bear teſtimony to the fact, that the conſtitution, and laws, and government of Great Britain do exiſt, we are obliged, ſaid the critics, to tell Mr. Pain, that he argues here, and through the greater part of his writings, with the confidence of a ſophiſt, and the ſeditiouſneſs of an incendiary.

Now, from the fact, that the Britiſh conſtitution does exiſt, it follows as an undeniable conſequence, that the political caſes, in Mr. Pain's pamphlet, are to be determined by a reference to the laws of Great Britain. It is, therefore, nonſenſical and wicked in our Anarch, to refer continually in his reaſonings, to a ſtate of ſavageneſs, that never exiſted; or indeed, to any other, than the

* Dodſley's Regiſter, 1780, p. 236, for Lord Mansfield's charge to the jury, on Lord George Gordon's trial.

political

political ſyſtem of the particular country, about which he treats. And we were thus led, ſaid the critics, to ſuſpect, that the ultimate object of Pain, and of thoſe who circulate his tracts, muſt have been, to give themſelves little trouble about the conſtitution and laws of Great Britain, when they can collect numbers ſufficient to overturn both by a tumult.

We were urged, ſaid the critics, by the apprehenſions, which are natural to age, to look forward from ſuch reaſonings, to *the end*; in order to enquire,—What would be the immediate conſequences of annihilating *the conſtitution* and the laws by a *tumult?* All the rights of ſociety, which are emanations from them, would be annihilated by the ſame ſtroke of violence. Whoever holds any right under the common law, would loſe it; whoever enjoys any privilege under an act of parliament, would loſe it; whoever partakes of any franchiſe from a charter, would loſe it: for all thoſe rights are derived only from the laws of ſociety, and the foundation being removed, the ſuperſtructure muſt fall. Having lived long enough, ſaid the critics, to prefer preſent enjoyment to future expectation, we are unwilling to truſt our liberty, our effects, and our lives, to the promiſes of a writer, whoſe purpoſe is to delude, or to the engagements of ſocieties, whoſe deſigns are not to ſave, but to deſtroy.

Such would be the loſſes, were the conſtitution overturned by a tumult, Now, what would be

the gains? Would any one be wiſer, richer, or happier, ſuppoſe a revolution accompliſhed? What happened in America, when independence was obtained, would again happen in Britain. We ſhould be all diſappointed in our hopes; we ſhould be all ruined in our fortunes; we ſhould be all miſerable from diſappointment; and perhaps we ſhould only have to lament, that we had truſted to promiſes, which were never intended to be performed.

But, Pain has engaged to make all men equal: Can he make the weak equal to the ſtrong? Can he make the old young? Can he make the indolent equal to the induſtrious? Can he convert idiots into wiſe men? No; *nature will have her way.*

Were mankind levelled, by whatever violence, in their intellects, their fortunes, and their titles, can Pain keep them equal by any means? The ſtudent will ever be ſuperior to the idler, the buſy will always be richer than the indolent, and opulence will in every ſituation be more worſhipped than poverty, were our preſent titles to be ſuppreſſed to-morrow: he, then, who promiſes, what he plainly cannot perform, ought to be deſpiſed as a quack, who infallibly kills, by his ignorant attempts to cure.

The remedies of Pain, as a ſtate phyſician, are all violent. He preſcribes immediate amputation for the ſlighteſt ſore. He has never for a moment reflected, that mankind, conſidered either perſonally, or politically, were not ſo formed, as to admit of violent

violent changes. They advance and decline gradually. And their deſtruction, whether we regard their natural, or their political, ſtate, is equally accompliſhed by convulſions.

The critics were, in this manner, led on to warn every patient againſt ſuch a phyſician as Pain, who, either from raſhneſs, or from wickedneſs, cares not much, whether he kill, or cure. And, they proceeded, *ſecondly*, to conſider, the *hiſtorical part* of *Rights of Man*. As an hiſtorian, Mr. Pain plainly takes his ſide. He avows it to be his purpoſe, to elevate one party, and to depreſs the other. A party-pamphlet may anſwer a party-purpoſe: but mankind agree to reprobate a party-hiſtory. As an hiſtorian, his great object was to recommend the proceedings of the National Aſſembly of France, however violent, or abſurd, to the imitation of the Engliſh people. With regard to the tranſactions of that aſſembly and their deplorable effects, experience has at length clearly decided. The Engliſh people have ſpoken their ſentiments very plainly of the works of the National Aſſembly, as legiſlators, and of the performance of Pain, as an hiſtorian, both as to his ſtyle and matter.

The critics proceeded, *thirdly*, to the *miſcellaneous part* of Mr. Pain's pamphlet, wherein he treats of *political œconomy*. All that he had retailed in his *Proſpects on the Rubicon*, with regard to money, and credit, and commerce, he interweaves into his *Rights of Man*. As he deals much in Sophiſms, he

he now diſpoſes of great abundance of ſuch goods. He is chiefly anxious to prove, that there is no wealth but money. The cattle of the farmer are not wealth, it ſeems; whatever wares the ſhop-keeper may have in the warehouſe, he is not wealthy, if he have no money in the till; the knowledge and induſtry of a tradeſman are not wealth, if he have no caſh in the cheſt. By thus aſſerting money alone to be wealth, and ſhewing how much coin had been brought into this iſland, and how little remained in it; he endeavours to prove, that Great Britain has, at preſent, leſs commerce and opulence, than this iſland had, in former times. He had no knowledge, it ſeems, that there is a traffic in bullion. He did not know, or he would not tell, that foreign coins are continually imported, and ſent out, juſt as there is a demand for them at home, or abroad.

In this manner, Pain was induced by his purpoſe to darken the proſpects before his readers, that they might ſee nothing diſtinctly. Of courſe, he ſhewed them none of the *reforms*, which had been made, during the period whereof he treated, from December 1783, to December 1790. The improvements of the Conſtitution he did not acknowledge as ſuch; becauſe, being all moderate or gradual, they did not remove ſome foundation. He laid before his readers none of the good effects, that had flowed from thoſe improvements and reforms. The public revenue was augmented; a

ſinking

ſinking fund was created; private credit was thereby ſtrengthened; induſtry was promoted; manufactures were encouraged; commerce was extended: And the reſult of the whole was, though Pain concealed it, that in December 1783, the three per cent. conſols. were 57, yet, in December, 1790, they were 81; that our *ſhipping* and *foreign trade* at both theſe periods were, as repreſented in the following ſtatement:

	Ships outwards.			Goods
	Tons Brit.	Tons for.	Total.	exported.
In 1783	795,669	157,969	953,638	£.14,756,818
1790	1,424,915	148,919	1,573,831	20,120,121

Notwithſtanding the artifice of Pain, it clearly appeared that, as an hiſtorian, he conceals what he ought to ſtate, and as a reaſoner, he argues againſt his own conviction. The critics were, in this manner, obliged to conclude, that the writer who miſrepreſents facts, and thereby miſleads the unwary, muſt neceſſarily have ſome bad deſign, which he is afraid to avow, and which ought to be expoſed, in order to obſtruct the intended miſchief.

The *reviews* of criticiſm, however, did not prevent Pain from receiving the applauſe of party, ſince he promoted the intereſts of faction. Nay, philology came in the perſon of Horne Tooke, who found out his retreat, after ſome inquiry, to mingle her cordial gratulations with the thanks of greater powers: *You are*, ſaid he, *like Jove, coming down*

down upon us in a ſhower of gold. Our ſcribbler was highly gratified by ſuch attentions; yet he was not happy; he plainly wiſhed for ſomething, that was ſtudiouſly withheld. Like honeſt Rouſſeau, he longed for proſecution. While fluttering on the wing for Paris, he hovered about London a whole week, waiting to be taken, not by the catch-poles of creditors, but by the runners of Bow-ſtreet.

Yet, the meſſengers of the preſs would not meddle either with his perſon, or his pamphlet. Upon what motives the government of Great Britain acted, with regard to both, we have never heard. Whether the miniſters truſted to the good ſenſe of England, which generally gains the aſcendency; whether they left his *ſtyle* to be detected by the ſchool-boys of England; whether they relinquiſhed his ſophiſms to be deſpiſed by the *grown men* of England; whether they gave up ſuch a character to the contempt of the women of England; we may conjecture, but cannot tell.

At length, ſtung by diſappointment, Pain departed for Paris, about the middle of May, 1791. He ſoon found, that in France his preſcriptions had worked wonders: The land was tumultuous; the government was diſſolved; and the people were involved in the miſeries of anarchy. In the midſt of this confuſion the *executive power* departed from Paris: the *executive power* was ſoon arreſted by the *executive power*. Theſe conſequences of abſurd

abſurd principles and ſeditious practices, induced our author to obſerve, with his *uſual coolneſs* to his congenial friend, Mr. Thomas Chriſtie: "You "ſee the abſurdity of monarchical governments; "here will be a whole nation diſturbed by the "folly of one man *!" Thus, the tongue continually blurts out the prevailing ſentiments of the heart! The experience of ſuch men had never taught them what miſchiefs had ariſen, in every country, from the madneſs of the multitude, when directed by profligate leaders.

An example ſoon occurred, which ought to have inſtructed both Chriſtie and Pain: a *ſentimental mob* † aſſembled in Paris, to behold the executive power return: and concurrence of opinion led Pain to mingle with *the many*, on that occaſion. An officer proclaimed the will of the National Aſſembly, that all ſhould be *ſilent* and *covered*. In a moment, all tongues were ſtill; all hats were on. Not ſo our adventurer: He had loſt his cockade; and to have a hat, without a cockade, was treaſon. A cry aroſe, *Ariſtocrat! Ariſtocrat! A' la lanterne! A' la lanterne!* Whether he preſerved his *uſual coolneſs*, during this uncommon danger, we are unable to tell. A Frenchman, who could ſpeak Engliſh, deſired him to put on his hat: But, the

* See Mr. Thomas Chriſtie's letter, dated from Paris, June 22d, 1791; and publiſhed in the Morning Chronicle, of the 29th of June, 1791.

† Chriſtie's Letter.

hat not having a cockade, he was involved in a ſad dilemma; and the ſentimental mob was, with ſome difficulty, ſatisfied by prudent explanation. Pain was now left to balance coolly in the ſcale, whether the folly of one man, or the frenzy of the mob, be moſt miſchievous, or moſt inconſiſtent with freedom. Political prejudice, like the jaundice, gives a ſickly colour to the effervescence of the mind. And we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that Pain, like other men, who confound liberty and anarchy together, was not even then convinced, by his own perſonal danger, that there is no ſafety for property, freedom, or life, in a country, where the individual may be inſtantly executed, for not having a cockade in his hat.

In the midſt of this turmoil, Pain endeavoured, with more confidence than ſucceſs, to enter into a political conteſt with Mr. Emanuel Syeyes, who, in old times, was called the Abbé Syeyes. The Abbé, who was the father of the new conſtitution of France, obſerving that the republican party had only been ſeen, ſince the 21ſt of June, 1790, avowed his purpoſe to defend his own principles againſt the republican ſyſtem. Pain ſnatched at the glove, which had not been caſt down; and *declared war againſt the whole* HELL *of monarchy* *. The Abbé, however, could not leave his daily occupations to fill the journals with controverſy.

* See his well-known letter to Mr. Syeyes.

Pain

Pain was preparing for his return to England. And thus ended the diſpute, which is not much to be lamented; becauſe, if we may judge from the ſpecimen juſt mentioned, were to be expected from him neither *elegance* of language, nor *candour* of diſcuſſion. Syeyes is one of the ſyſtem-builders of the times, who exclaimed, when his fabrick fell down, *what mind could have thought it?* It was never conſidered, it ſeems, that a palace muſt have props. Well-meaning men, when they are buſy about the preſent, ſeldom look forward to the future, or ever ſuſpect, that they are continually made the inſtruments of thoſe, who always mean ill.

Pain returned to the White Bear, Piccadilly, on the 13th of July, 1791, juſt time enough to partake in the celebration of the French revolution, on the ſubſequent day. Yet it was deemed proper, that he ſhould not appear at the dinner: and he came not to the Crown and Anchor Tavern till eight o'clock, when the celebrators had been hiſſed away by the multitude. He partook, however, in the mortifications, which the avowed deſigns of the *democrats* ſoon drew down on themſelves. When the people ſaw them, braving the laws, without regarding the public opinion, or the peace of the country, the indignation of the people broke forth with a diſcriminating violence. The *democrats*, however, made an unſucceſsful effort to regain their influence with the mob: and, with this deſign, they publiſhed from the Thatched-houſe Tavern,

on the 20th of Auguſt, 1791, a *ſeditious declaration*, which induced the tavern-keeper to forbid them his houſe, and which Pain ſtudiouſly avows to be the production of his own pen.

After this ſtorm a calm enſued. Our Anarch deemed this a fit occaſion to viſit our ſiſter kingdom; with the intention, no doubt, of giving the Iriſh a few leſſons of political happineſs. But, on the eve of his departure, he received certain information, that *a monſtrous good natured friend* had publiſhed THIS NARRATIVE, through every county, town, and village of Ireland; in order to ſhew the Iriſh how much they might truſt to his *veracity*, and how much they might profit from his *morals*. On this news, Pain retired to Greenwich, where he might carry on, unſeen, his *declared war* againſt the *hell of monarchy*, by writing his ſecond part of RIGHTS OF MAN.

From this obſcurity he emerged, on the eve of the *gunpowder plot*, at the accuſtomed commemoration of the 4th of November, by the Revolution Society, though he avows his deteſtation of king William and queen Mary. On this day, he ſeems to have been a welcome gueſt. Thanks were given him for *Rights of Man*. When his health was drank, Pain gave, in return, as an appropriate toaſt, "*The Revolution of the World.*" When the meaning was aſked, there were, who cried with Cleaveland—

"Ceaſe expoſitor! the text is plain:
"No church, no lord, no law, no ſovereign."

From

From the feſtive ſcene, which was intended, no doubt, by celebrating the paſt, to produce new revolutions, our Anarch retired into the receſſes of FETTER-LANE. About Chriſtmas 1791, he was carried by Mr. Chapman, the printer, to lodge at No. 10, in Dean-ſtreet, Fetter-lane, the houſe of Mr. Evans, a mathematical inſtrument maker, at the rate of ſeven ſhillings a week. He was introduced by Mr. Chapman, as *a great man.* Yet, with all *his greatneſs*, he would not have been received as a lodger, had he been known to be the *great Anarch* of the times. As an inmate, however, he behaved quietly, except when intoxicated, being then ſomewhat noiſy. He went ſeldom out, and was viſited by few; being almoſt always engaged in writing. This lodging he retained till his final departure to France, without troubling the family with much of his talk.

The acquaintance between Pain and Chapman, which was thus ſtrengthened by kindneſs, commenced, when the firſt part of *Rights of Man* was to be printed. The well known Mr. Thomas Chriſtie introduced the author to the printer, for that purpoſe. Mr. Chapman was again employed to print the *ſecond part* of the *old tune*, in September 1791. At the hoſpitable table of Mr. Chapman, Pain uſed to ſpend a pleaſant evening, after the ſolitary labours of the day. This commodious intercourſe continued till the 16th of January 1792, when, with his *uſual attention* to the *rights of*

women,

women, he inſulted Mrs. Chapman. He had been to dine with Mr. J. Johnſon in St. Paul's Church-yard, where he had made much uſe of the bottle. According to his conſtant practice, when intoxicated, his virulent converſation turned wholly on religion. He now abuſed *the Diſſenters*, ſaying, he had a bad opinion of them, as he *believed them to be a pack of hypocrites*. The printer, who is a Diſſenter, parted on that occaſion with the author for ever, when he ſent him the copy of *Rights of Man*, which he at length perceived to be of *a dangerous tendency* *.

In this extremity, Mr. Pain's reſources did not fail him. What would have been a diſappointment to other men, this unrivalled politician converted into an accommodation. He announced in the newſpapers, that the meſſengers of the preſs, having frightened his printer, had obliged him to employ a different workman: and he related in his Appendix, with his *accuſtomed veracity*, that his proofs had been ſeen, before they were printed;

* Pain has given this ſtory with his *uſual dexterity*, in his Appendix, and with various circumſtances, which might have been intereſting, *if they had been true*. See Mr. Chapman's teſtimony on Pain's trial, Gurney's edition, p. 86—9. It is not true, that his proofs were ſeen. Not one of his aſſertions, conſequently, is true. And the tale was told to hurt the printer, to whom he owed obligations, ſince no body elſe can it hurt.—

" It is the wit and policy of ſin,
" To hate thoſe men we have abuſed."

and

and that his budget had been ſtolen, before it exiſted. Thus it is to have *invention!* The part of the work, which had been rejected by Mr. Chapman, as of a dangerous tendency, was transferred to Mr. Crowther, who, as all other of Pain's printers and bookſellers have each had a quarrel to ſuſtain, will alſo have his.

But the Engliſh world was at that epoch too buſy with its own affairs to intereſt itſelf in the ſquabble between Pain and his printer. Experience had ſhewn, that the meſſengers of the preſs did not trouble themſelves with the pamphlet of the one, or the work of the other. It was preſumed, that the typographer, who had printed part the firſt of *Rights of Man*, need have no ſcruples about part the ſecond. The book was at laſt publiſhed, after ſome obſtructions, by Mr. J. Jordan, on the 16th of February, 1792.

Grown bolder from impunity, the author no longer ſkulked, on the eve of publication. He wrote to Jordan on the 16th of February 1792, "That if any perſon under the ſanction of autho-" rity ſhould inquire reſpecting the author and " publiſher, to mention him, as he would appear " and anſwer for the work perſonally." Yet, no one with, or without authority, ſeems to have inquired, during many months, about the author. And, after all thoſe artifices to incite curioſity, appeared, without attracting much notice, for ſome time,

time, RIGHTS OF MAN, part the ſecond, which it is now our buſineſs to

REVIEW.

This is a three ſhilling pamphlet, which is ſtill larger than *part the firſt*, and which, with its dedication to Mr. Fayette, its preface, its introduction, its five chapters, and its appendix, extends to one hundred and ſeventy-eight pages. The author is ſo continually occupied with RIGHTS OF MAN, combining *principle* and *practice*, that ever and anon he cries—

> "No centaurs here, or gorgons, look to find;
> "My ſubject is of man and human kind."

Writers there are, who, whatever may be their object, carry on their attacks by ſap rather than aſſault. Pain boldly avows his purpoſe. He declares WAR againſt the whole HELL of MONARCHY. He marches out with his blood-hounds, to hunt down every thing, which is eſtabliſhed in the world, however ſacred, and however legal. He carries on inveterate hoſtilities againſt the conſtitution, the laws, and the magiſtrates of Great Britain. And we are not, in the midſt of this civil war between Pain and the nation, to expect either fairneſs of repreſentation, or candour of reaſoning, but the accuſtomed rancour of domeſtic feuds. He is not ſcrupulous about the means, in order to gain his end; which is plainly to overthrow all that is conſtitutional, and to degrade all that is venerable.

He had been ſo ill ſerved by the committee of democrats, who corrected his firſt work, that he was induced, when preparing the ſecond, to aſk the help of Mr. Horne Tooke. His ſecond part is certainly more elaborate than the firſt. He has now fewer philological flaws. But, as Mr. Horne Tooke could not be always at hand, his abſence may be eaſily traced through the illiterate pages of RIGHTS OF MAN. And thus, part the ſecond is ſtill debaſed, though not ſo much as the firſt, by *bad grammar* and *bad Engliſh*, by *falſe idioms* and *groſs improprieties*. Let us give an example or two of his

BAD GRAMMAR.

" There is exiſting," ſays he *, " in *man* [mankind] a maſs of ſenſe lying in a dormant ſtate, and which, *unleſs* ſomething excites [excite] it to action, will deſcend with *him* [them] in that condition to the grave." Being a hater of *authority*, Pain transferred his principles of government to grammar: and as an enemy to *precedents*, he, of courſe, contemns the *uſage* of good writers, as he deſpiſes the *cuſtoms* of ſettled governments.

Now, gentle reader, mark the conſequences of contemning the *uſage* of good writers, in the following example †: " If there *is* [be] a country in " the world where concord would be leaſt expected, " it is America. In the ſtate of New-York, about

* Page 27, and 49.

† See p. 12, the text and note.

" half *are* [is] Dutch, the reſt is Engliſh, Scotch, " and Iriſh. In New-Jerſey, *a mixture* [there is " a mixture] of Engliſh and Dutch. In Penſyl- " vania about *one third are* [is] Engliſh, another " [is] Germans, and the remainder [is] Scotch " and Iriſh, with ſome Swedes. The ſtates to the " ſouthward have a greater proportion of Engliſh; " and beſides thoſe enumerated, there *are* [is] *a* " conſiderable number of French. The moſt nume- " rous religious denomination *are* [is] the Preſby- " terians; but, no one ſect is eſtabliſhed *above ano-* " *ther* [any more than another."]—In this ſtrain of falſe grammar and falſe ſentiment, Pain ſays in page 15:—" The origin of the preſent govern- " *ment* [govern*ments*] of America and France will " ever be remembered; but with reſpect to the " *reſt*, even flattery has conſigned *them* [it] to the " tomb of time." This is a happy example of bad Engliſh, falſe figure, and fine balderdaſh. " From ſuch [a] beginning of governments, what " could be expected," ſays he *:—a ſecond plun- derer ſucceeded [to] the firſt. " But, with reſpect " to the parts of ſociety, *it* is [they are] continually " changing *its* [their] place †." " From this, the " ariſtocracy *are* [is] in [a] great meaſure ex- " empt ‡." He ſpeaks in his Appendix of " the " taking off [of] taxes:" And, he adds, " every " *one* of thoſe ſpecific taxes *are* [is] *a* part of the

* p. 16. † p. 26. ‡ p. 105.

" plan

" plan contained in this work." If any doubt ſhould ariſe, he has a plan ready *: " Diſcuſſion " *and* the general will arbitrate*s* [arbitrate] the " queſtion." Were the *queſtion* ſent to the ſchool-boys of England, as the *arbitrators*, the *general will* would determine, without much *diſcuſſion*, that the foregoing quotations exhibit the moſt egregious inſtances of *bad grammar* and deſpicable ignorance.

Pain carries his propenſities to ſavage life, into the compoſition of his uſual ſtyle, by making copious uſe of what grammarians call

BARBARISMS.

Among other novelties in his dedication to Fayette, we meet with ſeveral new words. What he may ſuppoſe *accompliſhable* in fifteen years, the dedicator may believe practicable in a ſhorter period: yet, Pain would have the object accompliſhed without any ſuſpicion of *ſelf-deſign*. In page 2, he talks of the *governmental* perſecutions of the old world. He has his doubts, in p. 26, what wiſdom *conſtituently is:* But, he thinks in p. 26, that it would be ridiculous to attempt to fix the *hereditaryſhip* of human beauty, as of wiſdom. He is for ſtating the caſe to *conferees*, in p. 42. Yet, in p. 105, it is not every one, that he will allow to be *participaters*, in this conference. In this ſtate of *uncivilization*, [p. 80] he makes a new diſcovery; that hunger is not among the *poſtponeable* wants.

* p. 173.

There are other faults of compoſition, which are allied to the foregoing; and which, being rude mixtures of ſenſe with nonſenſe, of ſcurrility with falſhood, the critics have denominated

BALDERDASH.

But who are thoſe, Mr. Pain aſks in his preface, p. ix, "to whom Mr. Burke has made his appeal? A ſet of *childiſh thinkers* and *half-way* politicians, born in the laſt century." It might eaſily be proved, by this mode of reaſoning, that Harington and Milton were *childiſh thinkers*, that Sydney and Locke were *half-way politicians*; as they were all born in the laſt century: But the childiſh thinkers and half-way politicians, to whom Mr. Burke appealed, were Sir John Hawles, Mr. Lechmere, General Stanhope, Sir Robert Walpole, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl; who are men, that ſtand very prominent on the face of our juriſprudence and hiſtory. Indignation may prompt the reader to cry out with Charles Cotton, in his SCOFFER SCOFFT:

"It is not eaſy, I confeſs,
"To baffle ſuch a *plate of braſs*:
"For, in my days, I ne'er did hear
"So impudent *a ſophiſter*."

It muſt be *criminal* juſtice indeed, ſays Pain, in the preface, p. x, that ſhould condemn a work as a ſubſtitute *for not being able to refute it.*" Refute what? Falſe grammar, falſe aſſertions, and falſe

reaſonings! This *puff* of Pain muſt, however, be allowed to be a *characteriſtic ſubſtitute* for *inability* to write common Engliſh:

" How fluent nonſenſe trickles from his tongue!
" How ſweet the periods, neither ſaid nor ſung!"

In this ſpirit of fluent nonſenſe he tells, in p. 1, How " the revolution of America, preſented in politics, what was only theory in mechanics."—As America, he adds, in p. 2, was the only ſpot in the political world, where the principles of univerſal reformation could begin, ſo alſo was it the beſt in the natural world." Beſt of what? Of *fluent nonſenſe*. He gives the anſwer in p. 3: " The example ſhews to the artificial world, that *man muſt go back to nature for information.* He points out, however, in p. 4, another ſource of information: —" What is the hiſtory of all monarchical governments, but a diſguſtful picture of human wretchedneſs, *and the accidental reſpite of a few years repoſe?* Thus hiſtory is made a *picture* of *wretchedneſs*, and moreover, a *reſpite* of *repoſe*.

" Dulneſs with tranſport eyes the lively dunce;
" Rememb'ring ſhe herſelf was *pertneſs* once."

From this hiſtory, however, our author retails, in page 6, rather uncomfortable news: " The word *government*, robs induſtry of its honours, by *pedanticly* making itſelf the cauſe of its effects; and purloins from the general character of man, the merits that appertain to him as a ſocial being."

" Here

" Here ſhe beholds the chaos dark and deep,
" When nameleſs ſomethings in their cauſes ſleep;
" How hints, like ſpawn, ſcarce quick in embryo lie,
" How new-born nonſenſe firſt is taught to cry."

Our author, with moſt accurate diſcrimination, gives a very fine ſpecimen of *new-born nonſenſe*, in page 7, where he inſtructs the more youthful reader—" That the laws, which common uſage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of government. To underſtand the nature and *quantity* of government proper for [a] man, it is neceſſary to attend to *his* character. As nature created him for ſocial life, ſhe fitted him for the ſtation ſhe intended."—Here we are taught, in the true ſpirit of *balderdaſh*, that cuſtom is more influential than legiſlation; that the nature of government is to be learned from the character of a man; and that a man, being created for ſociety, is fit for his ſtation.

Yet, we may gather from what Pain ſays, in page 13, that till now, men have not been fit for their ſtations. " One of the great advantages of the American Revolution has been, that it led to a diſcovery of the principles, and laid open the impoſition of governments." Thus, till that great event, we ſee men had not diſcovered the principles, or traced the impoſition, of governments. He immediately adds the reaſon: " All the revolutions till then had been worked within the atmoſphere of a court, and never on the great floor of a nation."

a nation." We ought not to be ſurprized, then, when he tells, in page 15, "That with reſpect to ſuch governments, even flattery has conſigned them (attend good reader) to the tomb of time, without an inſcription."

"Here one poor word an hundred clenches makes,
"And ductile dulneſs new meanders takes."

Nor, ought the more fearful reader to be aſtoniſhed, that ſuch governments ſhould be conſigned to a tomb; for, in page 22, our author aſſerts, in the true idiom of balderdaſh, "That, in monarchical countries, government is formed on ſuch an abject levelling ſyſtem, it has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing; to-morrow it is ſomething elſe. It is government through the medium of paſſions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage; a thing at nurſe, in leading-ſtrings, or in crutches." Nor ought we to be ſurprized at what our author gravely tells, in page 6, "That government will degenerate into ignorance." Let us however remember, that

"His morals, like his wit, are motley too;
"He keeps from arrant knave with much ado:
"But, vanity and lying ſo prevail,
"That one grain more of each would turn the ſcale."

He even goes beyond his own *balderdaſh* in page 28: "Hereditary ſucceſſion requires the ſame obedience

obedience to ignorance, as to wiſdom; and when once the mind can bring itſelf to pay this indiſcriminate reverence, it deſcends below *the ſtature of mental manhood. It acts a treachery upon itſelf, and ſuffocates the ſenſations* that urge to detection." Oh lud! cries the more democratical reader, what a charming paſſage! See how the mind deſcends below the ſtature of mental manhood; ſee how it acts a treachery upon itſelf: behold how the mind even ſuffocates ſenſations! And, our author immediately ſubjoins, what will give ſuch readers inexpreſſible delight, "that *ſimple democracy* was no other than *the common-hall* of the ancients. But, what is called *a republic* is not any *particular form* of government." No wonder *the ſocieties* are vaſtly delighted with a mode of writing, which is peculiar to Mr. Pain, who, in his own ſtyle,

> "Spurs boldly on, and writes thro' thick and thin,
> "Thro' ſenſe and nonſenſe, never out, nor in."

Indeed, *none but himſelf can be his parallel.* And, it would be fruitleſs to look in any author for parallels to the ſpecimens of balderdaſh, which we find in pages 30, 31, and 32; and which, as Dryden would ſay, he has compiled with "much malice, mingled with little wit." RESPUBLICA, ſays Pain, or literally tranſlated, the public thing, is a word of good original, referring to the character and buſineſs of government; and in this ſenſe is naturally oppoſed to the word *monarchy*, which

which has a baſe original ſignification. It means arbitrary power in an individual perſon, in the exerciſe of which, *himſelf*, and not the *reſpublica*, is the object. Various *forms* of government *have affected to ſtyle themſelves* a republic. Simple democracy was ſociety governing itſelf, without the aid of ſecondary means; and that alſo with advantages as much ſuperior to hereditary government, as the republic of letters is to *hereditary literature*. Thus, through *darkneſs viſible* thou ſeeſt, good reader, that *the public thing refers* to the *character* of government; that the *word* monarchy means arbitrary power; that *forms* of government *have affected* to ſtyle themſelves a republic; and that *hereditary* government is nearly allied to *hereditary* literature.

" Thy hand, great *Anarch*, lets the curtain fall,
" And univerſal darkneſs buries all."

Similar examples of *balderdaſh* might be found in almoſt every paragraph. But, were WE to point them out with minute diligence, the diſguſt of the reader would probably be the only reward of our toil. Pain at length arrogates to himſelf the honours of *political literature*. He builds his own fame on the degradation of D'Avenant, Petty, and Locke. On ſuch an occaſion, it became neceſſary to ſtate, with ſome minuteneſs, his *bad grammar* and *bad Engliſh*, his *nonſenſe*, and his *balderdaſh*, in order to enable every reader to deter-

mine, whether his claims be juſt; and whether he, who ſcoffs at the illuſtrious men, whoſe talents have added to the dignity of our iſland, be not rather an ILLITERATE and NONSENSICAL writer:—

" He that detracts, or envies virtuous merit,
" Is ſtill the covetous, and the ignorant ſpirit."

There is another mode of writing, which is extremely analogous to *balderdaſh*, which may be ſeen in every page of *Rights of Man*, and is by the critics denominated

MISREPRESENTATION.

It is eaſy to conceive that, in writers, who, with Pain, *daſh through thick and thin*, this fault may ariſe ſometimes from ignorance, but oftener from deceit. It is propoſed to ſubmit a few examples of our author's *miſrepreſentation*, in order to enable the reader to determine, whether, in *Rights of Man*, there be the moſt deceit or ignorance.

Carried away by—

" His innate antipathy to kings,"

he is ſtudious to inculcate, that monarchs never promote knowledge among their people, in order to profit from their unſkilfulneſs. He does not advert, that much of the knowledge of France is owing to the ſcientific eſtabliſhments of Lewis XIV. He has never heard, it ſeems, that Peter the Great became a ſhip-carpenter, that he might inſtruct his ſubjects in the uſeful arts. Kings and biſhops

biſhops were the founders of all the univerſities of Europe. Nay, King William and Queen Mary, who are the peculiar objects of Pain's abhorrence, founded the college of *Virginia*. Our preſent ſovereign has diſplayed unexampled zeal, through a long reign, in forming literary ſocieties, in patronizing the elegant arts, in collecting information from every ſea, and from every ſhore, for the improvement of his people. Thus we ſee, that

> " DETRACTION's a bold monſter, and fears not
> " To wound the fame of princes, if it find
> " But any blemiſh in their lives to work on."

In the true ſpirit of *detraction*, Pain informs us, in p. 145, that the firſt eſtabliſhment of exciſe laws " was at what is called the *reſtoration*, or the coming of Charles II;" who, if he did not bring in the exciſe, founded the royal ſociety for the cultivation of natural knowledge. Sir John Sinclair, whoſe hiſtory of the public revenue he had before him, had told him, had he inquired for the truth, that the exciſe had its origin at a prior epoch. Scobell * would have ſhewn him, had he wiſhed for light, that there was eſtabliſhed, on the 9th of January, 1643-4, " *an exciſe on fleſh, victuals, and ſalt.*" And Stevens would have inſtructed him, as he has long ſince informed the world †, " that there were raiſed in England, by

* Page 60. † Hiſtory of Taxes, p. 289.

the long parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and the other uſurping powers, from the 5th of November, 1640, to the 5th of November, 1659, in EXCISES, the ſum *only* of 10,200,000l." This is what Pain calls *the republican œconomy of taxes.* And, thus we perceive—

" He will lie, like a lapwing, when ſhe flies
" Far from her ſought neſt, ſtill here 'tis, ſhe cries."

Pain was led by the policy of the *lapwing*, to fix the epoch of the exciſe at the Reſtoration, in order to inſtruct * the ignorant, " that the ariſtocratical intereſt then in power commuted the feudal ſervices, by laying a tax on beer brewed for ſale: *the ariſtocracy do not purchaſe beer brewed for ſale*;" as the alehouſe keepers in Weſtminſter can no doubt teſtify. The act of Parliament † gave no exemptions; yet he adds in a note, " the tax on beer brewed for ſale, *from which the ariſtocracy are exempt*, is almoſt one million more than the Commutation-act, being 1,666,152l. Every one knows, that the exciſe extends merely to *public dealers*, but not to private perſons, from a regard to the liberty of the ſubject. But when an exciſeman, who knows the truth, talks in this manner of *exemptions* which do not exiſt, we may be convinced, that

" Men, who make envy and crooked malice
" Their nouriſhment, dare bite the beſt."

* P. 102, 145. † 12 Cha. II. ch. 24.

This wonderful financier goes even beyond thoſe wilful miſrepreſentations, which prove the ſeditiouſneſs of his pamphlet, when he ſpeaks of the land-tax *. "The only uſe the houſe of peers has "made of its ſeparate repreſentation (and which "it has always made) is to ward off taxes from "itſelf. Notwithſtanding taxes have multiplied "upon every article of common conſumption, the "land-tax, which more particularly affects *this* "*pillar*, has diminiſhed. In 1788, the amount "of the land-tax was 1,950,000l. which is half a "million leſs than it produced almoſt an hundred "years ago." And he adds in the note, "See Sir John Sinclair's Hiſtory of the Revenue. The land-tax in 1646 was 2,473,499l."—As fraud deals in generals, no page is quoted. But Sir John informs us, vol. I. page 172, that the parliamentary aſſeſſments on perſonal property and land varied from 35,000l. to 120,cool. a month. Now, if we take the average of both, the annual amount will be only 930,000l. Sir John ſays, in page 176, that the amount of the land-tax, in the nineteen years from the 3d of November 1640, to the 5th November 1659, was 32,172,321l. Now, the average of this total is only 1,693,280l. in every year. We may eaſily ſuppoſe, that our author's propenſities daſhed into his eſtimate the confiſcations of biſhops lands and loyaliſts eſtates. He

* P. 100-1.

wilfully

wilfully forgets, that the land tax has been conſtantly at four ſhillings in the pound, ſince the peace of 1783, though this be rather unexampled, during peaceful periods, in former times. He alſo forgets, that the owners of land pay all taxes on conſumption, and the land-tax beſides. He forgets the doctrine of Locke, that all taxes fall ultimately upon land, being the permanent fund.

" 'Tis not the wholeſome, ſharp morality,
" Or modeſt anger of a ſatyric ſpirit,
" That wounds or hurts the body of a ſtate;
" But the ſiniſter application
" Of the malicious, ignorant, and baſe
" Interpreter."

Our *interpreter* goes on to remark, in page 101, that the conſequence of exempting the land-owners, has been a conſtant encreaſe in the wretchedneſs of the poor, and the amount of the poor-rates." And he tells hiſtorically, in page 124, " The poor-rates began about the time of Henry VIIIth, when the taxes began to encreaſe." Yet, true it is, that the poor-rates began during the prudent and frugal reign of Elizabeth, *almoſt ſeventy years after his epoch*, in conſequence of the ſtatute 43 Eliz. chap. ii. which, combining *employment* with *relief*, formed a very different ſyſtem, had it been properly executed, from Pain's propoſals of *penſions* and *idleneſs*, to the amount of four millions a year out of the ſurplus taxes * :—

" On principles of pure good huſbandry."

* P. 12

From

From this falſe delineation of the origin and policy of our *poor laws*, which he ridiculouſly calls *the inſtruments of civil torture* *, Pain naturally proceeds to repreſent the ſuperior condition of England, during the reign of Henry VIII. to that of the preſent in reſpect to freedom, police, and wealth. He is very copious as to the tyranny, the wretchedneſs, and the poverty of the preſent times. But he quite forgets, that there were in the priſons of England, under Henry VIII. for debts and crimes, upwards of ſixty thouſand perſons, if we may believe an act of parliament †; that during his reign, there were ſeventy-two thouſand perſons executed for theft and robbery; or nearly two thouſand a year, as Harriſon aſſerts. At preſent, there are not yearly executed fifty perſons for ſimilar crimes. Theſe facts have induced hiſtorians to remark ‡, that there has been a great improvement in morals ſince the reign of Henry VIII. and this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increaſe of induſtry, which has given maintenance, and what is of almoſt equal importance, occupation to the lower claſſes.

Obſerving that poor-rates and taxes, induſtry, and trade, are all *twiſted together*, Pain is led to ſtate, in *his own manner*, "that in America, the increaſe of commerce is greater than in England." Every

* P. 136. † 3 Hen. VIII. ch. 15. ‡ Hume, Vol. IV. p. 275.

one

one will believe this, who knows, that the American citizens have larger commercial capitals, a wider range of trade, and a greater extent of correſpondence, than the Engliſh merchants. He confirms this reaſoning, by an aſſertion, that before the war, Philadelphia had eight or nine hundred veſſels, yet in 1788, had upwards of twelve hundred. And from this aſſertion, he logically proves*, that "as the ſtate of Pennſylvania is eſtimated as an eighth part of the United States in population, the whole number of veſſels muſt now be nearly ten thouſand." He forgets, that Connecticut has very little ſhipping; that Jerſey has none; that the Delaware counties have very few veſſels; that North Carolina has equally few; that South Carolina has very few; and that Georgia has fewer ſtill. Pain, doubtleſs, learned from Crouſaz, or from Watts, the admirable logic, whereby he demonſtrates mathematically, that the number of ſhips muſt be in proportion to the population of any country, or town: thus, Liverpool having ſeventy thouſand inhabitants, has more ſhipping than Ireland, which has three millions and a half of people: and China, having eight times as many inhabitants as Great Britain, muſt neceſſarily have nine hundred and ſixty thouſand veſſels for foreign voyages.

* Page 85.

But,

But, in proving how much more rapidly the American trade increaſes than the Britiſh commerce, he forgets, with his uſual deſign to deceive, one ſide of the compariſon. Pain's forgetfulneſs will, however, be ſupplied by the following

TABLE.

Epochs.	Shipping outwards.			Value of Goods exported.
	Tons Brit.	Tons foreign.	Total.	
In 1792 --	1,562,927	175,556	1,738,483	23,277,272l.
1791 --	1,511,246	184,729	1,695,975	22,731,996
1790 --	1,424,915	148,919	1,573,831	20,120,121
1783 --	795,669	157,969	953,638	14,756,818
1772-73-74	795,943	64,232	860,135	15,613,003
1764-65-66	639,872	68,136	708,008	14,925,950
1749-50-51	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112
1726-27-28	432,832	23,651	456,483	7,891,739
1713-14-15	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573
1700-01-02	273,693	43,635	317,328	6,045,432
1688 --	190,533	95,267	285,800	4,086,087

Whatever the commercial attainments of the American States may be, ſuch are the ſucceſſive and rapid augmentations of the ſhipping and traffic of Great Britain from 1688 to 1793. Pain derides the *revolution* as uſeleſs, the acceſſion of the Hanover family as undeſirable, and the conſtitution itſelf as unſubſtantial. But, the true mode of judging, with regard to political inſtitutions, is by their ſalutary influences. Now, the foregoing TABLE demonſtrates the amount of our ſhipping and commerce, at the epoch of the revolution, their ſubſequent advance, and their preſent exaltation. It is unneceſſary to inquire, whether

deceit, or *demonſtration*, ought to have the moſt influence on our judgement and our practice.

Such are the MISREPRESENTATIONS, which we have ſelected from the large collection in *Rights of Man*, in order to enable the reader to form a judgment of Pain's veracity and knowledge; of his ability to inform, and of his deſign to delude. Nearly connected with ſuch *miſrepreſentations* is another fault in writing, which conſiſts in the author's coming too often and too forward on the paper himſelf; and which the critics reprobate under the name of

EGOTISM.

He ſtruts out once more on his *title-page*, in the face of the completeſt detection, as the ſecretary of the congreſs, though he had been merely the clerk of a committee. He aſſumes ſtill higher importance in his dedication to Mr. Fayette. He is proud of a fifteen year's acquaintance; he is boaſtful "of the various conſultations, to which he had been admitted in Europe." When the American revolution was eſtabliſhed, *I* felt a diſpoſition to ſit ſerenely down: *I* am now once more in the *public world*. *I* am reſolved to labour as faſt as *I* can. *I* am anxious for your aid and your company. "If you make a campaign in the enſuing ſpring, *I* will come and join you." With what deſign, good reader? To extinguiſh German deſpotiſm, and to ſurround France with revolutions." Now,

"Phyſicians

" Phyſicians hold the chief
" In all their cures, *conceit*, and ſtrong belief."

Elevated by this *conceit*, he thus gaſconades, in p. 92: " *I* have not only contributed to raiſe a " new empire in the world, founded on a new " ſyſtem of government, but *I* have arrived at an " eminence in *political literature*, the moſt difficult " of all lines to ſucceed and excel in, which ariſ- " tocracy, with all its aids, has not been able to " reach, or to rival." Our Bolingbrokes, and " Somerſets, our Bacons, and Burleighs, are but " puny politicians, when compared with Pain. His independence, he ſays, in p. 93, " gave me a range in political writing, beyond, perhaps, what any man ever poſſeſſed in any country; and *I* enjoy it undiminiſhed to the preſent moment." In *political literature*, what are Hooker and Chillingworth, Warburton and Johnſon, to Pain? In this ſtyle of rhodomontade, he cries, in p. 91, " I fear no conſequence. Fortified with that proud integrity, that diſdains to triumph or to yield, I will *advocate* the rights of man."

" Firm champion fortitude, that knows no fears
" Of hiſſes, blows, or want, or—*loſs of ears*."

With theſe previous diſcuſſions before us, which evince how—

" *Nice philoſophy*
" May tolerate unlikely arguments,"—

we may now proceed to review briefly the ſeveral heads of *Rights of Man*; beginning with

The PREFACE.

Whatever may be his *fortitude* or his *fears*, he is willing *to avoid any thing like ſullen* pride: He will reply to any anſwer to *Rights of Man*, that ſhall extend to an half, or even to a fourth part of the number of copies, to which the Rights of Man extended; but, until this be done, he will be guided by the public, and what they do not think worth while to read, is not worth his to anſwer. It required not his avowal to prove, that—

"Turbulent ſpirits, rais'd beyond themſelves,
"With eaſe are not ſo ſoon laid."

Pain has indeed amply provided, that his writings ſhall not be eaſily anſwered. The author, who puts a new title-page to his book, every time that he ſends a freſh advertiſement to the newſpapers, cannot eaſily be overtaken, in the number of his editions*. When a work, extending to one hundred and ſixty pages, contains in every line ſome aſſertion, which is to be diſputed, ſome fallacy, which is to be corrected, and ſome deceit, which is to be detected, the anſwerer muſt be allowed much time and ſpace. And the minuteneſs of the objector, in this manner, becomes the bane of the reader:—

* Of the *ſecond part* of *Rights of Man*, there were five thouſand copies printed: yet, in a fortnight, the *fourth* edition was advertiſed.

"Oh *credulity*,
"Security's blind nurſe, the dream of fools,
"The drunkard's ape,———

"Thus

"Thus modeſt truth is caſt behind the crowd;
"Truth ſpeaks too low; factiouſneſs too loud."

But, if our author diſdained to reply to objections, which were made to his doctrines as a writer, he ought at leaſt to have explained the charges, that were made to his character as a man. And, he now ſwaggers out with an air of independence, when he ought to bring forward a certificate of his honeſty. As the gangrene, which fixes on one part, ſoon corrodes the whole maſs, the viciouſneſs of the heart naturally corrupts the products of the brain: and at this moment, Pain feels, that when the public contempt has ſettled on the *life* of the author, the public diſdain is ever after extended to his writings.

It was with admirable judgment, that he reſerved his ſecond part, till he knew how a work would be received, which was *written in a ſtyle of thinking and expreſſion*, ſo different from what had been cuſtomary in England. The event juſtified his perſeverance. The *doctors of literature* approved of his *ſtyle:* The *ſocieties* for *revolutions* propagated his *ſentiments*. And thus,—

"Tom, the ſecond, reigns, like Tom, the firſt."

In this ſtrain of modeſty, he ſuppoſes, that of the whole people of England he alone is free from prejudice. He claims the merit of diſcovering, that the crime of writing libels no longer exiſts in the law of England. He diſcovers even more than this,

this, when he finds that, "on all caſes, that apply univerſally to a nation, with reſpect to ſyſtems of government, *a jury of twelve men* is not competent to decide." Yet a Jury, notwithſtanding his threats, have found him guilty of this very crime. And he concludes this preface of wonders, by remarking, That if governments were to be changed all over Europe, *it certainly may be done without convulſion or revenge.*

"How eaſily———
"Do wretched men believe what they would have!"

While he dogmatizes thus, he neither looks back upon the paſt, nor round upon the preſent. It required twenty years of confiſcation and bloodſhed, in the laſt century, to change and to ſettle the government of England. A dozen years elapſed, with no ſmall waſte of wealth and lives, before the coloniſts could change and ſettle the government of the American ſtates. It is not eaſy to foreſee how many years will paſs away in tumult and maſſacre before the government can be changed and ſettled in France. In contraſt with our author, let us hear, however, the *ancient ſage*:

"The ſinewes of Prudence is not to beleeve fondely and ſpeedily: Therefore before we beleeve, we ought to conſider well, the circumſtances of the thing, the Accidents, the Perſon, and the Cauſe. The which, whoſoever will examin well, ſhall not ſo eaſily fall into the errour to beleeve over lightly."

From the *preface*, which is certainly written in his accuſtomed manner, we are carried forward to

THE INTRODUCTION.

This he very appoſitely opens with the well known ſaying of Archimedes, *that if he had only a ſtand, he would raiſe the world.* Let Pain have his premiſes, and he will move the moon. Let him have his aſſertions, inſtead of proofs; his falſhoods inſtead of facts, and his ſophiſtry inſtead of argument; he can eaſily *advocate rights* and *raiſe revolutions!* He can do more;—

"Yon ſtars, yon ſuns, he rears at pleaſure higher,
"Illumes their light, and ſets their flames on fire."

In this *ſpirit* of *inflammation* he ſeems to have written his *introduction*; in order to tell the aſtoniſhed world what marvels had been worked by the taliſman of the American revolution. Before that influential event, *reaſon* was conſidered as *rebellion*; the ſlavery of fear had made men afraid: but, ſuch is the irreſiſtible nature of truth, that all it aſks is the liberty of appearing. And no ſooner did the American governments diſplay themſelves, than deſpotiſm felt a ſhock, and man began to contemplate redreſs. Credulity might from this rhapſody be led to ſuppoſe, that before the American war, there had been no ſuch writers in France, as Monteſquieu, Voltaire, and Rouſſeau. From his *hiſtory*, ignorance might be led to believe, that the ſettlers of the Britiſh colonies had not flouriſhed for ages, previous to their revolt, under awkward imita-

imitations of the Britiſh conſtitution. Yet, when the American governments at length diſplay themſelves to mankind, under their new conſtitution, what do they exhibit but their old ſyſtems, confirmed by new declarations; and a federal government, adopted from the Britiſh forms. Of this *Introduction* it may indeed be admitted, that

" Some truth there is, but daſh'd and brew'd with lies,
" To pleaſe the fools, and puzzle all the wiſe."

With theſe *deſigns*, our author *daſhes on* to remark, of how little importance the independence of America would have been, if it had not been accompanied by a revolution in the principles and practice of governments. This muſt be allowed

" A tempting doctrine, plauſible and new;
" What fools our fathers were, *if this be true!*"

Events have, however, ſhewn, that the legiſlation of the American governments is not, even now, more rational than under the former ſyſtems; the practice of government is not more mild; perſons are not better protected, nor is property more ſecure: but, whatever independence may have conferred on the American citizens, it muſt be acknowledged, that with leſs range in their trade, they have obtained, what is entirely new, a national debt, with additional taxes; and what they feel and lament, *an* EXCISE; which, as Pain would ſay, " Watches proſperity as its prey."

Yet, is he determined, *to puzzle all the wiſe*. " Almoſt every thing appertaining to the circumſtances

ſtances of a nation," he adds, "has been abſorbed under the *myſterious* word, *government*." In order to elucidate *this myſtery*, he propoſes to diſcriminate between thoſe things which are the effect of government, and thoſe which are not; and he thinks this will beſt be done, by *taking a review of ſociety and civilization*, and the conſequences reſulting therefrom, as things diſtinct from what are called governments. In this manner our Anarch concludes his *Introduction*, which, upon a general review, happily evinces how much

"His buſineſs was, by writing, to perſuade,
"That kings were uſeleſs, and a clog to trade."

With thoſe preparations, and with this deſign he conducts us to *chapter I.* which treats on that intereſting ſubject,

SOCIETY *and* CIVILIZATION.

On opening this chapter, we are immediately ſtruck with a very allowable plagiariſm, which Mr. Pain has ingeniouſly committed on himſelf. Much of *Rights of Man* is obviouſly borrowed from his own *Common Senſe*. This treated of ſociety and civilization, ſo does that; this gave the origin and deſign of governments, ſo does that; this wrote of monarchy, and hereditary ſucceſſion, ſo does that: *Common Senſe* had a chapter of miſcellanies, ſo has *Rights of Man* a chapter of miſcellaneous opinions, projects, and repetitions. The ſentiments of the laſt are merely the echoes of the firſt; and thus Pain performs the office of his own magpye, in monotonous cry:—

" I mourn, my countrymen, your loſt eſtate,
" Tho' far unable to prevent your fate;—
" Now all your liberties a ſpoil are made;
" Th' Americans and Dutchmen intercept your trade."

In both his *tracts*, there is the ſame antipathy to every thing eſtabliſhed; there is the ſame deſign to promote anarchy; there is the ſame attempt to degrade every thing, which, in this country, has by the people been either loved or venerated. And, of both his *tracts*, it may be juſtly obſerved,

" 'Gainſt form and order, they their power employ,
" Nothing to build, and all things to deſtroy."

Yet, ſtrange to tell, when *Rights of Man* found their way to *his beloved America*, they were received with marked contempt. His character as a man and a writer, both in *principle* and in *practice*, was perfectly known to the American citizens. Mr. John Adams, the ſon of the Vice Preſident of the United States, and of courſe, a conſiderable perſon under their government, ſtept out of his ſphere to reprobate *Rights of Man*, under the character of Publicola, in the newſpapers. The people, who had frowned away Pain from among them, were ſurprized at his reception in Europe. They were aſtoniſhed to hear, that his *Common Senſe* and *Criſis*, which had grown cold among them, were ſerved up hot, as a haſh, with good reception, in Britain: but let it be remembered, that the ſad effects of his character and writings were ſtill felt by the American citizens; while in England, his adventures were but obſcurely known,

known, and the miſeries of anarchy were only perceived in the annals of the laſt age. Our Anarch's *life*, however, and *labours*, have been ſince ſcanned, and are now known to *the world*. For,

" Counſel and time do both work one effect;
" They ſoon convict, or clear, what we ſuſpect."

Counſel and *Time* will even diſcover *the origin of ſociety*, which our author repreſents *in chapter I.* in a manner, *to puzzle all the wiſe*. " Great part of that order," ſays he *, " which reigns among mankind, is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of ſociety and the natural conſtitution of man. It exiſted prior to government, and would exiſt if *the formality* of government was aboliſhed." Now, gentle reader, what is the very definition of SOCIETY, but that it is, *the* UNION *of* MANY, *in one common intereſt?* and, what is the true definition of GOVERNMENT, but that it is, *the* ESTABLISHED STATE *of* LEGAL AUTHORITY. Thus MILTON ſings:

——————" There they ſhall found
" Their *government*, and their great ſenate chuſe
" Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordain'd."

Thus ADDISON ſpeaks: " Every one knows, who has conſidered the nature of *government*, that there muſt be in each particular form of it, an abſolute, unlimited power." And SWIFT ſubjoins, " Where any one perſon, or body of men, ſeize

* Page 7.

into their hands the power, in the laſt reſort, there is, properly, no longer a *government*."

It was from the foregoing paſſages of MILTON, ADDISON, and SWIFT, that *government* was defined to be *the eſtabliſhed ſtate* of *legal authority*. GOVERNMENT, then, is the ORGAN of SOCIETY, as the *tongue* is the *organ* of *ſpeech*, or the *lungs* of *reſpiration*. And, this ORGAN performs its neceſſary functions, by means of the legiſlative power, which preſcribes rules of action for all; of the executive power, which enforces thoſe rules; and of the judicial power, which, as a branch of the executive power, adminiſters juſtice to every one, according to ſettled rules. Can a man exiſt, without his natural organs; can he ſpeak, without his tongue; can he reſpire, without his lungs? No. Can ſociety any more exiſt, without government, its neceſſary organ: can ſociety legiſlate, without the legiſlative function; can it execute any meaſure, without the executive function; can ſociety diſtribute juſtice, without the judicial function? No. Then, it is demonſtrated, that SOCIETY cannot exiſt, without GOVERNMENT, which is its NECESSARY ORGAN.

Yet, Pain, the profound, anſwers, Yes! "In fine, ſays he*, ſociety performs for itſelf almoſt every thing which is aſcribed to government." In order to prove, that a *mere union* can perform any act, without *the means*,—

* Page 7.

"He

" He gnaw'd his pen, then daſh'd it on the ground,
" Sinking from thought to thought, a vaſt profound!
" Plung'd for his ſenſe, but found no bottom there,
" Yet, wrote, and floundered on, in mere deſpair."

He *flounders* forward, to make the reader underſtand " the *nature* and *quantity* of government, which is proper for man." To this end, he ſhews, " that it is neceſſary to attend to the character of man:" Now, " nature, as the author *profoundly diſcovers*, created man a ſocial being, and fitted him for his ſtation." By taking another *plunge*, Pain demonſtrates *, " that as men are incapable, without the aid of ſociety, of ſupplying their own wants, their wants impelled the whole of them into ſociety, as naturally as gravitation acts to a centre." But, why plunge, ſir, for what floated on the ſurface? Why; I ſhow, that man is a ſocial creature, with ſocial affections, and with ſuch wants, that nothing but ſociety can ſupply: And having thus examined the compoſition of man, the diverſity of his wants, the diverſity of his talents, his propenſity to ſociety; " I then eaſily diſcover, *that a great part of what is called government is mere impoſition* †." This muſt be allowed to be a happy ſpecimen of ſinking from thought to thought. He undertook to prove, that *ſociety can exiſt without government*. And he argues, that men are ſocial creatures, who cannot ſubſiſt without ſociety; and yet, are to have their wants ſupplied, without

* Page 8. † See the whole of page 8.

the

the means: For *government* is *the means*, whereby *ſociety* can alone attain its *end*.

He now reſolves to *ſink* no more. He engages to prove, "that government is no farther neceſſary than to ſupply *the few caſes*, to which ſociety is not conveniently competent." He brings an inſtance, which will doubtleſs prove this. He now tells hiſtorically *, "that for ſeveral years from the commencement of the American war, there were in the colonies, no eſtabliſhed forms of government. The old governments had been aboliſhed; yet, during this interval, order and harmony were preſerved as inviolate as in Europe." But, was there no convention in every colony, no committee in every diſtrict, who having uſurped all power, legiſlative and executive, executed their edicts by fine, impriſonment, confiſcation, baniſhment, and death? Yes. Theſe facts hiſtory will recite, though Pain conceal them. And thus does he fail, in *his inſtance*. Nevertheleſs, in *mere deſpair*, he ſubjoins †, "that the inſtant formal government is aboliſhed, ſociety begins to act." According to this logical reaſoner, *ſociety begins to act, without its organ*. The great metaphyſician of the laſt century was nobody to Pain,—

"Who is in logick a great critick,
"Profoundly ſkill'd in analytick:
"He can diſtinguiſh and divide
"A hair 'twixt ſouth and ſouth-weſt ſide;
"On either which he can diſpute,
"Confute, change hands, and ſtill confute."

* See page 8-9. † Page 9.

He

He had laid it down in his *Common Senſe*, as a maxim, we may remember, that the *beſt government* is only a *neceſſary evil*. This *ſkilful logician* now employs a whole chapter to evince, that *ſociety* can *exiſt without government*, which, according to this *great critic*, "is nothing more than a national aſſociation on the principles of ſociety *." After a few more *plunges* into the depths of faction; after

"Obliquely waddling to the point in view,"

he cloſes chapter 1, without proving his point, that *ſociety can exiſt without government*; both of which muſt have ever exiſted inſeparably; as men and their organs began to act together, and muſt together ceaſe. We are at length led forward to review in *chapter* 2, the *preſent old governments*; in order to inveſtigate, with our author's *profound ſkill*, "whether their principles and practice are correſpondent thereto †."

The ORIGIN of the OLD GOVERNMENTS.

"It is impoſſible, ſays he ‡, that ſuch governments as have hitherto exiſted in the world, could have commenced by any other means, than a total violation of every principle, ſacred and moral. The *obſcurity*, in which the *origin* of all the preſent old governments is buried, *implies* the *iniquity* and *diſgrace* with which they began." It required not

* See page 14. † Page 15.

theſe

theſe illuſtrative paſſages to prove, what a profound logician our author is. In *his* ratiocination, it is quite ſufficient, to *aſſert* firſt, to *ſuppoſe* next; and then, from his *aſſertion* and *ſuppoſe*, to draw his inferences. He did not recollect, it ſeems, the old rule of logic, which requires, that what does not appear muſt be conſidered as not to exiſt. In *his* illation, *obſcurity implies iniquity*. In *his* philoſophy, the mind of man is to preſume, that every thing, which it cannot trace to its ſource, began in wrong, rather than in right: In *his* juriſprudence, the jurors are to regard the culprit as guilty, rather than innocent. But, gentle reader, Pain undertook to demonſtrate to thy ſatisfaction, that all the governments of the world, the preſent and the paſt, except thoſe of America and France, began in iniquity, by a violation of every principle. And he *logically* proves his bold aſſumption, by an *aſſertion* and a *ſuppoſe*, in oppoſition to common ſenſe, which regards every thing as right, till the contrary be evinced by proof.

He had a wide field to range in, without any ſtrong deſire to find what he ſought. Either from ignorance, or deſign, he ſtudiouſly avoided to ſearch the only record, where the true origin of government could be clearly traced. The original of nations, and the eſtabliſhment of authority among them, are of high antiquity. Nations had their origin, and government its powers, from the *moſt higheſt*. GOD, by his miraculous in-

terpoſition, divided mankind, *after their tongues*, in *their countries*, and *in their nations* *: and, in the diviſion of mankind, *the* MOST HIGH *ſet a ruler over every people* †. Theſe are ſurely very intereſting facts, in the annals of our common ſpecies. They muſt be admitted as true, unleſs we diſbelieve the Bible. Even the metaphyſical reformers cannot diſbelieve them, unleſs they diſregard the oldeſt and moſt authentic hiſtory on earth.

Nevertheleſs, in oppoſition to MOSES, comes Pain, in the genuine ſtyle of profane ribaldry, to inſtruct the riſing generation that, "in the ſolitary ages of the world it was not difficult for a banditti to over-run a country; for the chief of the band to loſe the name of robber in that of monarch ‡: and hence, the origin of monarchy, and kings." Thus, with regard to inveſtigations, which are intereſting to mankind, and in oppoſition to *holy writ*, are we to take the aſſertions of a man, whoſe actions, through a devious life, ſtand oppoſed to his veracity. As he had before failed, in proving that, ſociety can exiſt without its organ, he now more egregiouſly fails, in tracing the origin of governments to their true ſource, far leſs to their GREAT ORIGINAL.

Knowing that "*fallacies in univerſals live*," he talks in his accuſtomed ſtrain, of bands of robbers,

* See Gen. x. 20—25. Deut. xxxii. 8.

† Eccleſ. xvii. 17.

‡ Page 15.

who parcelled out the world; of the ſecond plunderer, who ſucceeded the firſt; and who, as they alternately invaded the dominions, which each had aſſigned to himſelf, the brutality with which they treated each other explains—what? gentle reader, "*the original character of monarchy:*" yet, after carrying his miſrepreſentation into burleſque, he does not at laſt perform his engagement, to trace the origin of governments to its true fountain. At length, in mere impotence of inveſtigation, he takes for granted the point, which he had promiſed to prove, without one note of truth, or one remark of ingenuity. And, He concludes this ſhort chapter with——

"All that on folly, frenzy could beget."

"From ſuch beginning of governments, ſays he, what could be expected but a continued ſyſtem of war and extortion? The vice is not peculiar to one kind of government. What perfection of iniquity preſents itſelf in reviewing the hiſtory of ſuch governments!" If, continues he, in the true ſpirit of balderdaſh, we would delineate human nature with a baſeneſs of heart and hypocriſy of countenance, it is kings, courts, and cabinets muſt ſit for the picture: *man is not up to the character.* Within ſuch governments there exiſts not a ſtamina whereon to engraft reformation: And he ſhrewdly ſuggeſts, that the ſhorteſt and moſt effective remedy is to begin anew*. Thus,—

* See page 16, 17.

"The

" The moon-ſtruck prophet felt the madding hour:
" Then roſe the ſeed of chaos and of night,
" To blot out order and extinguiſh light."

In chapter the 3d, he opens his avowed warfare with the Abbé Syeyes, on the *old* and *new* SYSTEMS *of* GOVERNMENT.

In this conteſt, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that well-meaningneſs is no match for knavery. When, in war, the one general determines to ſeize no opportunity, while his opponent has reſolved to take every advantage, it may be clearly foretold, who will win the battle. The Abbé Syeyes has acted with ſo much of this hoſtile generoſity, that his writings and his legiſlation evince how much a weak ſupporter is a dangerous friend.

Amid this polemic warfare, between the *Abbé* and *the politician*, there is no leiſure for gathering the charming flowers, which our author ſtrewed with a dextrous hand over all the field. It was from chapter the 3d, that we culled the moſt numerous ſpecimens of odorous BALDERDASH. In it, above all the others, the attentive reader may moſt clearly perceive—

" How random thoughts now meaning chance to find,
" Now leave all memory of ſenſe behind."

Of *random thoughts*, there is a cluſter, in page 20. In order to prove, that all *hereditary government* is *an impoſition on mankind*, he lays it down, in his uſual manner, as a *maxim*: " That it cannot be proved, by what right hereditary government

could begin *. Let it be remembered, however, that Pain undertook to evince *hereditary government* to be an *impoſition upon mankind:* And, in order to perform his promiſe, he now calls upon ſome other logician to perform his own engagement. Hereditary government *is* in the world; where it will remain immoveable, notwithſtanding Pain's aſſertion, till he perform his promiſe, in proving that hereditary government *is* wrongfully in poſſeſſion. In *his art* of *thinking*, it is no argument to ſay, That what has always been, muſt have had a rightful beginning; that what has been always eſtabliſhed, muſt be founded in common conſent; that what has been always practiſed, and is now allowed, muſt, in every age, have been acknowledged as uſeful, and muſt be now approved, as ſalutary. But, in *his art of thinking*, it is ſufficiently plain, that—

"Of all the tyrannies on human kind,
"The worſt is that, which *perſecutes the mind.*"

But, Pain will *perſecute the mind* a little more. In order to ſtrengthen his former *ſuppoſe*, he makes an additional *aſſertion*. "Neither, ſays he †, does there exiſt within the compaſs of mortal power, a right to eſtabliſh hereditary government." What; hath not any nation, which has no government, a right to eſtabliſh what form of government it may approve! No; he aſſerts, with happy republican-

* Page 20. † Ibid.

iſm,

iſm, ſuch a nation had not ſuch a right: And, he immediately ſubjoins the reaſon *: "Man has no authority over poſterity in matters of *perſonal* right; and therefore no man, or body of men had, or can have a right to ſet up hereditary government." But, let the attentive reader remark the dexterity, or the deceit, of the ſophiſter, in daſhing in with lucky adroitneſs, *perſonal* right. Now, *perſonal* right is annexed to the *individual*, who, when he is laid where all muſt lie, has no longer any *perſonal* right; the winding-ſheet being the *perſonal* right of the executor. But, we were led by Pain into a diſcuſſion of *political* rights; yet, with true logical propriety, he puſhes into his ratiocination *perſonal* right: And, in order to cloſe his proof, with the force of a flaſh of lightning, he fumes out in a puff of balderdaſh; "were, even ourſelves, ſays he †, to come again into exiſtence, we have not now the right of taking from ourſelves the rights which would then be ours." And thus he cloſed his proof, which indeed evinces, that,—

"The lit'ral ſenſe is hard to fleſh and blood;
"But nonſenſe never can be underſtood."

Pain engaged to prove, that *hereditary government* is an *impoſition* upon mankind: He adduced his proof, which, on a careful examination, the reader has ſeen,—

"From ſolid ſubſtance dwindles to a ſound."

* Ibid. † Ibid.

Our

Our author at length proceeds "to examine *, whether hereditary government is adequate to the neceſſary purpoſes of government." He finds now, as he has always found, that to *break windows* is a very eaſy taſk. He has the ſtreets of the civilized world before him; and he runs about to throw ſtones with more than a boy's malignancy. In the midſt of this miſchief, he cannot recollect, that an inſtitution which had been once eſtabliſhed by GOD, could not be inadequate to the end; that conſtant practice by the nations of the earth is ſufficient evidence of continued uſefulneſs; and that the forms, which mankind have approved in every age, muſt have had wiſdom in their deſign, and ſalutarineſs in their operation. The hereditary ſyſtem, ſays Pain †, reverſes the wholeſome order of nature; it eſtabliſhes, he cries ‡, in his own balderdaſh, channels of power, in company with which [channels] wiſdom refuſes to flow." And, like an Indian Faquir, working up his prejudice into frenzy, Pain exclaims with many a yell—

"Such wars, ſuch waſte, ſuch dreary tracts of dearth,
"It's uſe hath left, and ſuch a teemleſs earth."

In the midſt of this paroxiſm, he gives ‖ the example of Poland, as an elective monarchy, which has had fewer wars than thoſe which are hereditary; and as the only government that has made a voluntary, though a ſmall eſſay, to reform

* Page 21—39. † Page 22. ‡ Page 27. ‖ Page 25.

the country. In *his hiſtory*, we read of no *foreign* wars, which Poland carried on, under its *elective* government, with diſaſters, in proportion to the feebleneſs of its forms; We ſee no *domeſtic* wars, which were rancorous and deſtructive in exact ratio to their frequency: And, in *his hiſtory*, we trace nothing of the diſmemberment of Poland, which was as diſmal in its effects, as it is much to be deplored in its conſequences. Poland has, however, made a ſmall eſſay, he admits, towards a reform of its conſtitution. She has deliberately changed her *elective* for an *hereditary* monarchy. But, genuine hiſtory will record this *ſmall eſſay*, as a conſpicuous proof of her wiſdom, and the *moderation* of her meaſures, as the true cauſe of her ſucceſs. Of this moderation, and of that eſſay, Pain diſapproves, conſidering, no doubt, that *they order theſe things better in France:*

> "Thus would *his Poliſh* diet diſagree,
> And end as it began, in anarchy."

Our anarch is thence led on, as his paroxiſm abated, to compare * with rather more coolneſs, the *old*, or *hereditary* ſyſtems, with the *new*, or *repreſentative* ſyſtem. But, is the *repreſentative ſyſtem*, as he calls the American conſtitution, altogether new? It is new to him, who avows, that he has read little; and who appears, from his writings, to have thought leſs. But, his repreſentative ſyſtem

* Page 25.

does

does not appear new to thoſe, who, having inſpected the annals of mankind, and meditated on the revolutions of time, clearly perceive, that a ſimilar ſyſtem exiſted upwards of two thouſand years ago, among a people that, without detraction, may be regarded as equal to the American citizens in knowledge, in performances, and in freedom. The more learned reader will have already determined, that we mean the *Amphictyonic conſtitution* of the Grecian republics.

Compoſed, as that illuſtrious congreſs was, of repreſentatives from the ſtates of Greece, it formed the connective principle, of many ſeparate communities, and the ſupreme power over all. Such is the American congreſs. The Amphictyonic congreſs was compoſed at firſt of deputies from only twelve ſtates; a thirteenth ſtate was ſoon admitted, and a greater number of ſtates was afterwards received into the union. The American congreſs was compoſed of deputies from only twelve colonies, before Georgia joined with hers; then, of deputies from thirteen; and now of deputies from fifteen, including Kentucky, and Vermont, though Pain, with his accuſtomed accuracy, ſpeaks of only thirteen *. The Amphictyonic congreſs determined differences among the ſtates, during times of tranquillity; and decided with regard to the continuance of peace, or the com-

* See page 41.

mencement

mencement of war. And all theſe are the functions of the American congreſs.

It is unneceſſary to tell, that Pain attributes, in his own manner, frequent war, and every evil, which can afflict mankind, to the hereditary ſyſtem, without acknowledging, that the repreſentative ſyſtem has any faults. Yet, ſtrange to tell, what hiſtory has recorded, that every exceſs of animoſity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithſtanding the power and interpoſition of the Amphictyonic congreſs. Pain ſees much to admire in the Athenian democracy: But, he has blotted from his annals all mention of the Peloponneſian war, which was provoked by Athens, and which *for ſeven-and-twenty years deſolated* the Grecian cities. Thucydides, who has recorded the dire effects, which ſprung from the Grecian democracies, forms no part of his library. And Pain has never heard, it ſeems, of the learned doctor, who ſitting down with republican prejudice, to write the hiſtory of Greece, became an admirer of the Britiſh conſtitution, from tracing for ages the deplorable evils, which flowed from the *repreſentative ſyſtems*, among the Greeks.

In our author's annals, there is nothing ſaid about the maſſacres and wars of Carthage, and of Rome; thinking, doubtleſs, that their conſtitutions were not repreſentative, but republican. As little does he notice the furious hoſtilities, which were carried on, through the middle ages, by Venice with Genoa,

Florence with Piſa, and by the Hanſe-towns with all their neighbours. Neither does he ſpeak of the domeſtic and foreign wars of the united Netherlands; becauſe the States-general are not called the Congreſs. In Great Britain, during the laſt century, we had a *repreſentative ſyſtem*, that produced tumults, confiſcations, executions, hoſtilities, and taxes, which impoſitions, in nineteen years, amounted to 95,512,095l. ſterling *. Such were the effects of the repreſentative ſyſtems in Europe! But, the American ſtates have a repreſentative ſyſtem, which is a model for every people, who are ſo fond of novelty, as to wiſh for a repreſentative ſyſtem. Yet, the American ſtates, ſince the epoch of their independence, have had their domeſtic tumults, and civil wars, and are even now carrying on bloody hoſtilities againſt a people, whom, with Greek politeneſs, they denominate *the ſavages*.

Every one, who reads chapter the 3d, with any attention, muſt perceive, how much Pain, when he compoſed it, was influenced by the conſideration, that *the ſocieties for revolutions* would propagate whatever he might write; that—

" Th' appointed club would let ſedition paſs,
" Senſe, nonſenſe, any thing—*to pleaſe the maſs.*"

Thus talks our anarch. Now let us hear the ancient ſage:—

* Stevens's Hiſtory of Taxes, 296.

" We

"We ought to obſerve with diligence thinges paſt: For that they give light to thoſe that are to come; for as much as the worlde was alwayes one, and all that, which is at this preſent and ſhall be, hath been at other times. For that the ſelfe-ſame thinges returne under divers ſundrie names and cullours; wherefore they are not knowne but of thoſe that are wiſe, and that conſider them with greate diligence."

From the foregoing conſiderations, with regard to *ſyſtems*, we are carried, of courſe, to chapter the 4th, which treats of

CONSTITUTIONS.

This chapter, like the former, was plainly written "*to pleaſe the maſs*," and will probably be as much approved by "*the appointed club*." He attempts*, with his uſual readineſs, and his accuſtomed fallacy, to tell what a *conſtitution* is. A conſtitution, ſays he, and a government, muſt mean diſtinct things, or why are ſuch terms diſtinctly uſed? A conſtitution is not the act of a government, but of a people. We are here diſtinctly informed what a conſtitution is not: But, we have not advanced one ſtep in the knowledge of what it is. Inſtead of a definition, he runs through a long hiſtory† of the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral conſtitutions of the thirteen [fifteen] ſtates of America; in order to ſee at the fountain-head, the difference between conſtitutions and go-

* Page 40. † From page 41 to 50.

vernments. But after this tedious ſearch, we are diſappointed in finding the *definition of a conſtitution*. He indeed tells at laſt, " that a conſtitution is *the property* of *a nation*; and that it is a thing antecedent to the government *:" But ſtill he does not ſay what it is. After thus compoſing many pages, in his own ſtyle of unmeaning ribaldry, he comes forward with peculiar propriety, to tell † the Engliſh world, " that from the want of underſtanding the difference between a conſtitution and a government, Dr. Johnſon, and all writers of his deſcription, have always bewildered themſelves." After hearing this language from Pain, who undertook to define a conſtitution, liſten, gentle reader, to the *genius* of PERTNESS, who ſpeaks to her favorite ſon—

" And empty words ſhe gave, and ſounding ſtrain;
" But ſenſeleſs, lifeleſs idol, void and vain."

But, mark how a plain tale ſhall put down *his empty words* and *ſounding ſtrain*, which have not yet explained what a conſtitution is. If *ſociety* be an *union* for a particular end; if *government* be the *organ* for fulfilling this end; a conſtitution muſt be the *form* of the government, whereby it obtains for ſociety its end. Accordingly, the very definition, in our language of the *conſtitution*, is *the eſtabliſhed form of government*; and in our juriſprudence, *the ſyſtem of laws and cuſtoms:* Of conſequence, when

* In pages 49, 50. † In page 50.

we ſpeak of any act being conſtitutional, we mean, that it is *conſiſtent with the civil conſtitution*. Now, if ſociety, and government, as its organ, be coeval; then, muſt the form be conſequent to both: and this reaſoning is confirmed by the manner, in which the American convention of May, 1787, eſtabliſhed the political ſyſtem of the American ſtates. The convention reſolved firſt, that there ſhould be an *union*; they determined with the ſame breath, that there muſt be a *government*; and the convention proceeded more leiſurely in eſtabliſhing the *conſtitution*, for carrying into effect, the *ends* of the *union*.

Our anarch takes* a bolder flight upon the wings of *empty words*, when he aſſerts: "Dr. Johnſon could not have advanced ſuch a poſition, [what poſition, ſir? The Doctor has advanced none,] in any country where there was a conſtitution; and he is himſelf an evidence, that no ſuch thing as a conſtitution exiſts in England." This muſt be allowed to be a flight, as daring as the eagle's height. At the opening of this chapter, he engaged to explain the nature of the conſtitution; but when he alights from *his balloon*, he *only aſſerts*, that *he can find no ſuch thing as a conſtitution in England*. He even calls Dr. Johnſon himſelf, as a witneſs, that there is no conſtitution. But, let us appeal from ſuch aſſertions and ſuch proof to common

* Page 51.

ſenſe,

ſenſe. If, as we have proved, government be the organ of ſociety; if a conſtitution be the form of government; then, neither government, nor ſociety, can exiſt without a conſtitution. If Pain have evinced by his writings, that he defies common ſenſe, he muſt be admitted to have diſplayed, on this occaſion, the valourous magnanimity of the aſs, that is fabled to have kicked the lion, which could no longer kill by a ſtroke, nor terrify by his roar.

In this magnanimous ſpirit, Pain is not to be frightened from his poſition, or his prey. He runs over the Hiſtory of England, in order to prove that, in this ill-fated country, we have no conſtitution. From the æra of the Norman conqueſt, to the epoch of the great charter, he can find none. *Magna charta, as it is called, is now, in his eſtimation, like an almanack of the ſame date, and is of the nature of a conqueſt, and not of a conſtitution* *. During the times of the Edwards, and Henries, and Stuarts, he can trace nothing of a conſtitution. Nay, in his code, *the bill of rights is more properly a bill of wrongs, and of inſult* †. After ſuch flights, and ſuch fooleries, it may be poetically ſaid of Pain—

" A double nooſe, thou on thy neck do'ſt pull,
" For writing treaſon, and for writing dull:
" To die for faction is a common evil;
" But to be hang'd for nonſenſe, is the dev'l.

* See pages 51, 52. † See page 52.

In

In this *affectation of treaſon*, or *declamation* of *dulneſs*, Pain proceeds to aſk, in page 53, "Where then is the conſtitution either that gives, or that reſtrains, power?" The more learned reader will find the *eſtabliſhed form of* the *Britiſh government*, in the common law, in the great charter, in the declaration of rights, in the parliamentary uſages, and in the ſtatutes, which have improved all theſe; the more gentle reader will ſee in Blackſtone's Commentaries *the conſtitution* detailed with great accuracy, and explained with approved illuſtration. But, being determined to be *hanged for nonſenſe*, Pain cries out, in page 56, "From the want of a conſtitution in England, to regulate the wild impulſe of power, domeſtic concerns are neglected and, with reſpect to regular law, there is ſcarcely ſuch a thing." Nevertheleſs,—

"Let him be gallows-free, by our conſent,
"And nothing ſuffer, ſince he *nothing meant*."

In this tone of *no-meaning-neſs*, Pain is continually holding up to our imitation a CHALCEDON, though he had a BYZANTIUM before his eyes; as Monteſquieu would ſay, who declared, that mankind generally find their account, more in the mediums, than extremes. Our author often winnows the American conſtitution, without giving us anything but the chaff. In his inveſtigations, we never perceive that, previous to the revolt, the ſeveral colonies had no other connection with each other

other, than that they were all provinces of the ſame empire, which owed obedience to one legiſlature. When this legiſlature acknowledged their independence, that connection ceaſed. Each ſeparate ſtate became then a ſovereign republic. The ſeveral ſtates had at length no political union; except indeed the haſty aſſociation, which, being formed, during the preſſures of war, was inadequate wholly to the objects of peace. And it is a remarkable fact, that ſubſequent to their independence, there exiſted, within the American ſtates, no ſovereign legiſlature over the whole, nor any ſupreme power, that could direct the general maſs of diſcordant powers.

It is to this ſource of anarchy, that we muſt trace up the eſtabliſhment of the preſent conſtitution, by the confederation of ſeveral ſtates. Yet, on that occaſion, no more of the *ſovereignty* of each was reſigned, than what was neceſſary, for forming an union, and creating one authority. Only ſpecial powers, both legiſlative and executive, were conferred on the congreſs, by the act of confederation, with a view to that union and that authority. The powers of the congreſs, then, is limited by its conſtitution. The congreſs cannot, in any caſe, go beyond its powers; ſince they were conferred by ſovereign ſtates, who gave theſe powers, and no more; reſerving all other authority to themſelves: of conſequence, the congreſs is not ſovereign, in the ſenſe, in which we ſay the parliament

is

is ſupreme; the congreſs being reſtrained to certain caſes; while the parliament is bounded, in its abſolute power, by no perſon, or thing. When we contemplate the *fifteen* ſtates, which are at preſent confederated, with certain portions of ſovereignty in the diſtinct legiſlatures of each; with ſpecific particles of ſovereignty in the congreſs; we may conſider this body as the Amphyctionic council of the new world. Yet, this is the CHALCEDON, which Pain is ever urging us to build, though we already enjoy a BYZANTIUM.

Little elſe is there of a conſtitutional nature in our author's diſſertation, whereby he defines ſo clearly what a conſtitution is, and is not. He conducts us forward, indeed, through his darker paſſages, by the light of innumerable flaſhes of balderdaſh, till we arrive at chapter the 5th, which treats of

WAYS and MEANS of improving *the Condition* of EUROPE, interſperſed with *miſcellaneous Obſervations*.

"In contemplating a ſubject," ſays he, in page 78, "that *embraces* with *equatorial magnitude* the whole region of *humanity*, it is impoſſible to confine the purſuit in one ſingle direction." Thus, on the opening of this multifarious chapter, we ſeem to liſten to Pain, ſpeaking in the character of GAY'S MONKEY, *who had ſeen the world:*

"Hear and improve, he pertly cries,
"*I* come to make all nations wiſe."

This is an undertaking which, no doubt, *embraces humanity* with *equatorial magnitude*. Having already eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of *principles*, as a baſis, on which governments ought to be erected; Pain now proceeds, with his accuſtomed good ſenſe, and his uſual good Engliſh, to the ways and means of *rendering them* [his principles] *into practice*. The reader is ready to proceed; but, our author throws ſome preliminary obſervations in his way. He finds, with his never-failing good luck, in page 79, "All the governments of Europe (France now excepted) are conſtructed, not on the principles of *univerſal civilization*, but, on the reverſe of it." Now, mark the conſequences. "The inhabitants of every country," ſays he in page 80, "under the civilization of laws, eaſily civilize together, but *governments* being yet in an *uncivilized ſtate*, and almoſt continually at war, they pervert the abundance, which civilized life produces, to carry on the *uncivilized part* to a greater extent." Well may the gentle reader at this exclaim:—

"Nonſenſe precipitate, like running lead,
"That ſlipp'd thro' cracks and zigzags of the head!"

In this illuſtrative ſtyle, he proceeds, through many a *zigzag*, to remark, in page 80,—"What has ſerved to continue *this evil*, is the pecuniary advantage, which all the governments of Europe have found in keeping *this ſtate* of *uncivilization*." He ſubjoins an additional reaſon for *this evil*.

"When

" When the ſcene is laid in the uncivilized contention of government, the field of pretences is enlarged, and the country being no longer a judge, is open to every impoſition, which governments pleaſe to act." Thus, in *his political ſtate*, we ſee *monſtrous grievances*;

" As things ſeem large, which we thro' *miſts* deſcry;
" Dulneſs is ever apt to magnify."

He has, however, a *panacea* for all diſeaſes, which he offers in page 81, with the confidence of a metaphyſician, and the importunity of a quack. " REVOLUTIONS have for their object a change in the moral condition of governments, and with this change, *civilization* will be left to the *enjoyment* of *that abundance*, of which it is now deprived." Whence we may obſerve, thro' *the miſts* of *dulneſs*,

" Some future truths are mingled in his book;
" But, where the witneſs fail'd; the prophet ſpoke."

Another of his *ways* and *means* is COMMERCE *, for which he is an advocate, becauſe, " it is a pacific ſyſtem operating to *cordialize* mankind." The *invention of commerce* has ariſen, he adds, in page 82, ſince thoſe governments began, and is the greateſt approach towards univerſal civilization. He is ſpeaking of the preſent governments of Europe: and he inſtructs the more uninformed reader, how the invention of commerce aroſe, ſince they began. In *his hiſtory*, we trace nothing

* See from page 81 to 89.

of the traffic of the Tyrians, of the Phenicians, or of the Carthaginians. In *his eſtimate* of the *profit* and *loſs*, which have reſulted from going to war *on account of trade*, we ſee no ſtatement, though honeſt Dean Tucker had given ſo elaborate an account. He aſſigns the reaſon of this omiſſion, in page 88, "that the balance of trade, *even ſuppoſing it to exiſt*, is not enjoyed by *the nation*, but abſorbed by *the government*." Yet, ſtrange to tell! he inſiſts, through ſeveral paragraphs, that the ableſt of our ſtateſmen do not underſtand the balance of trade, and have contributed nothing by their legiſlation to promote commerce; "ſince the great ſupport of our commerce conſiſts, he ſays, in page 86, in the balance being a level of benefits among all nations."

"But winnow well this thought, and you ſhall find
"'Tis light as chaff, that floats before the wind."

While he thus ſcatters ſuch *thoughts* and ſuch *chaff* through many pages of inanity, he overlooks the ſtrongeſt argument for his general purpoſe. We had in this country a REVOLUTION, in 1688-9. Now, the annual amount of our *ſhipping* and our trade was,——

	Tons Brit.	Tons foreign	Total.	Goods exported.
At that epoch—	190,533—	95,267—	285,800—	£.4,086,087
At preſent—	1,562,927—	175,550—	1,738,483—	23,277,272

The mind can eaſily trace the intermediate progreſs of our ſhipping and our trade, and of the conſequent opulence, among all ranks, from the

the firſt epoch to the laſt *. Why not attribute, Sir, the wonderful proſperity, which the Britiſh people now enjoy, to *the revolution?* He aſſigns his reaſons: he doubts about our proſperity: he diſapproves of *that revolution*, and of the perſons, who atchieved it. In his mind, it was not revolution enough: it did not tear up the whole conſtitution by the roots: it only changed *the ſpirit* of the governors, without touching *the forms* of the government. Yet, it muſt be acknowledged, that whatever may be the benefits, which have reſulted to the country, from the revolution of 1688-9, either as to the ſecurity of perſon and property, or to the freedom of mind, that revolution was attended, like every incident of life, with its profit and its loſs. We have ſtated the amount of the profit: it remains to be admitted, that it produced, either immediately, or conſequently, *the wars* of king William and queen Anne: the firſt is peculiarly denominated the revolution-war; the ſecond began, as the declaration of hoſtilities ſet forth, becauſe, among other reaſons, the *French king had acknowledged the pretended prince of Wales*; and thereby had impugned the revolution. Thus, while we ſee, that revolutions beget wars, it ought never to be forgotten, that the benefits of our revolution are of higher value, than the whole expence of the waſteful wars, which it certainly produced.

* See the TABLE in page 105.

Yet

Yet will our anarch hardly admit, that *our revolution* has given riſe to any domeſtic regulations, or exiſtence to any ſalutary laws. He does indeed acknowledge, in page 150, "ſeveral laws are in exiſtence for regulating and limiting workmen's wages;" of which he diſcovers, through *darkneſs viſible*, quite ſufficient,—

"As half to ſhew, half veil his deep intent."

The laws, which he reprobates, with his accuſtomed animoſity, did not ariſe ſo much from a conteſt, between the governors and the governed, as from a competition, between the employers and the employed. They are ſumptuary laws, of domeſtic œconomy, which have the intereſt of all for their object. If it be the duty of the father of a family, to prevent the ruin of his children; it muſt be equally the duty of the fathers of a nation, to ſave the people from deſtruction, If workmen ſhould raiſe their wages too high, the demand for their labour would ceaſe: If, by raiſing their wages too high, or by working not at all, the products of their work ſhould be ſent to market at too great a price, other countries would furniſh the ſupply, the commerce with Britain would ceaſe, and the manufacturers themſelves would be thereby involved in ruin. This is one of Pain's ſtrong points: Yet, when it is *well winnowed*, what does there appear, but *chaff*, flying before the wind, and obſcuring the ſight of all, *who will not ſee*.

Trade

Trade and taxes are ſo *twiſted together* in the mind of Pain, that he next proceeds to treat of *finance*, as another of his *ways and means*. On this ſubject, he ſubmits to the reader's niceſt examination, through ſeveral pages, ſome TABLES, which he has moſt exactly calculated; in order to ſhow, in a new method, how taxes may be raiſed, and *properly diſperſed*. He admits, however, that his plan will be of no uſe, *unleſs* the following points can be accompliſhed. 1ſt, The deſtruction of all corporations; 2dly, The abolition of private rights under ſpecial laws; 3dly, The new diviſion of eſtates, including the ſuppreſſion of the rights of primogeniture; 4thly, The revocation of *taxes on conſumption*; and 5thly, The repeal of the poor-laws. It is to be lamented, on ſo great an occaſion, how little he has foreſeen, that—

> "*Chance* is not caſt in moulds, like other arts;
> "Her *counſels* but the hopes of *raſhneſs* be."

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that whatever may be his *raſhneſs*, Pain is altogether *conſiſtent*. The writer, who aſſerts, that the *great charter* of England was rather a *conqueſt*, may very properly argue*, that "it is a perverſion of terms to ſay, that any charter gives rights: It operates by a contrary effect, that of taking rights away."—Thus eaſy is it for *raſh counſels* to deſtroy all corporations!

When this deſtruction ſhall have taken place, it

* See page 92, 93.

will

will be a labour much more facile to aboliſh *private rights*, thoſe rights which are derived from particular charters, or from ſpecial acts of parliament. But, ſir, Why *advocate rights*; why *promote revolutions*; if private rights, which are ſecured by every tie, ſolemn and ſacred, be daſhed away by a ſtroke of violence? Poor Pain! little doſt thou reflect, that—

" A contract broke, though piec'd up ne'er ſo well,
" Heaven ſees, earth ſuffers, but it ends in hell."

When the moſt *ſacred ties* ſhall be *daſhed away*, when *all contracts ſhall be broken*, there will be little difficulty, in forming an agrarian law, by making a new diviſion of eſtates. The labour is ſo eaſy, as to proceed from no forecaſt, and to require no wiſdom; eſpecially in one, *who has no perſon*, that the bailiffs can touch, and *no property*, that the ſheriffs can ſecure. For the ſuppreſſion of the rights of primogeniture, Pain aſſigns ſeveral reaſons, in page 107, which are peculiarly *his own*: " *Primogeniture is an attaint upon character; a ſort of privateering on family property:* Speaking of himſelf, on this occaſion, he adds, " that I began the world without a ſhilling; yet *I* poſſeſs more of what is called conſequence, than any one in the catalogue of ariſtocrats." This modeſt declaration of Pain compels even incredulity to believe, that—

——— " If *his ſelf-importance*
" Might anſwer for *his* ſins, he would account
" Among *his* wealth, the land he had in heaven."

Whatever may be his *land*, or his *self-importance*, he zealouſly recommends the revocation of taxes on conſumption, which wiſe men have conſidered as moſt conſiſtent with freedom; becauſe every one is left *free* to conſume according to his wiſh, or his ability. Far in the north, four counties there are, which hardly pay any taxes on conſumption; becauſe, from inability, they do not conſume the objects of taxation, which only commences, where ſuperfluity begins. It is, however, true, that—

"Unto men, ——————————
"Preſs'd with their wants, all change is ever welcome."

With a view to this *worldly-wiſdom*, Pain urges the repeal of the poor-laws. We have ſeen how ignorant he is of the time when they were made; how little he is acquainted with their hiſtory; and how much leſs he knows of their genuine ſpirit. This is a ſubject, which ſeems to have baffled the collected wiſdom of Britain. The wiſeſt Men have agreed, in recommending the *employment* of the lower orders, as the beſt mode of reform. Our anarch, with deep inſight into human nature, propoſes to make them all *idle*. For his experience had taught him how—

"—— Tumults are not laid
"With half the eaſineſs, that they are raiſed."

Thus much with regard to Pain's notions of *finance*. All his projects end in ſome eſſential

innovation. Let our Archimedes have but his *ſtand*; and he would raſe the foundations of the conſtitution. He would degrade the crown. He would pull down the houſe of peers. He would cruſh the houſe of commons. He would confound all ranks of men. And, with *raſh counſels* and a *levelling hand*, he would make a new diviſion of property. As applied to his projects, and to his endeavours, we may with the poet truly ſay:—

> " All other errors but diſturb a ſtate,
> " But, *innovation* is the blow of *fate*.
> " To change foundations, caſt the frame anew,
> " Is work for rebels, who baſe ends purſue:
> " At once divine and human laws control,
> " And mend the parts, by ruin of the whole."

But, Pain is plainly not a *rebel:* For, he defines, in page 162, " rebellion to conſiſt in forcibly oppoſing the general will of a nation, whether by a party, or by *a government*. Of conſequence, the *organ* of *ſociety* may rebel againſt the ſociety, or nation, as the tongue may rebel againſt the man. Pain, however, is not to be controuled by *human laws*, when in purſuit of his ends. He has more *ways* and *means* for amending *uncivilized* governments. He purpoſes, in page 164, an alliance between Britain, France, and America, together with Holland. Yet he raiſes a fatal objection to his own propoſal. Without any diplomatic power, he declares, in page 164, " that America would probably

bably enter into ſuch a meaſure, provided that the governments, with which ſhe might ally, acted as national governments, and not as courts enveloped in myſtery." Thus, while Pain has need of all his magic to conquer the prejudices, or ſubdue the principles of mankind, with his innovating witchery, he incites nationality, and imbitters rancour. Now,—

" The *tampering* world is ſubject to this curſe,
" To phyſic their diſeaſe—into a worſe."

After propoſing, and in this manner defeating this grand alliance, our *tampering phyſician* takes it for granted, that this alliance may take place. He thence infers, that the national expences might be put, *for the ſake of a precedent*, to what they were, when France and England were not enemies. He propoſes ſpecifically, in page 117, that the whole peace eſtabliſhment, civil and military, ſhall only amount to 1,014,115l. a year. And thus, would our bold projector place the honour and ſafety of our iſland on the ſandy foundations, whereon he had built ſo many ſyſtems and revolutions, his own *immaculate aſſertion* and *confident ſuppoſe*. After Pain, let us attend to the ancient ſage:

" Every ſtate ought to deſire peace, and therof to make demonſtrations, both with deeds and with woords: but for al that, they ought to ſhew themſelves in military preparations and proviſions moſt warlike. For a diſarmed peace is weake and feeble."

Nevertheleſs, with RELIGION he does not meddle much at preſent. "It is in this caſe, he ſays, in page 172, as with the Britiſh conſtitution: It has been taken for granted to be good: But, when the nation come to examine its principles, and the abuſes it [religion] admits, it will be found to have more defects than I have pointed out." We may as well talk of a national GOD, he adds, as of a *national religion*. It is either *political craft*, or the remains of the *Pagan ſyſtem*. Yet, the biſhop of Landaff, who *does meddle*, he honours with the higheſt praiſe. Let us, however, remember, that

"The *Atheiſt* ſays, RELIGION
"Is the fool's bridle, worn by policy,
"As horſe wear trappings, to ſeem fair in ſhew,
"And make the world's eye doat on what we ſeem."

We are now arrived at the end of chapter 5, after a tedious journey, through founderous ways, wherein we have been frequently delayed by miſrepreſentations, and often beſpattered by balderdaſh. At the cloſe of 174 pages, we come to

The APPENDIX.

Our author began with ſelf-importance, in his title-page; and he ends with ſelf-importance, in his colophon.

"Here ſtruts he, like a patriot, and talks high
"Of injur'd ſubjects, alter'd property;
"An emblem of that buzzing inſect, juſt
"That mounts the wheel, and thinks he raiſes duſt."

He

He *buzzes* out with the conſequential *elevation* of the *inſect*, to ſtate the cauſes, that had occaſioned the delay, in publiſhing *part the ſecond*. He aſſigns only ONE CAUSE; adding, however, many particulars, as the *cauſes* of that *one cauſe*. He lays before the reader, in page 177, this *one cauſe*, in the following manner: "On Tueſday fortnight preceding the meeting of parliament, [the 17th of January, 1792,] all at once, *without any previous intimation*, though I had been with him [the printer] the evening before, he ſent me, by *one of his workmen*, all the remaining copy, from page 112, declining to go on with the work *on any conſideration*. —To account for this extraordinary conduct, I was totally at a loſs." But, why, ſir, at at a loſs? You had a quarrel with your printer, the night before, namely, on the 16th of January, 1792: it was a violent quarrel; the printer declared that, he would have nothing more to do with your works, or you: you demanded a ſettlement of your accounts: and he finally told you, that he would ſend you every thing, *on the morrow* *. You now admit, that on the morrow he ſent you, by one of his workmen, all the remaining copy. You, of conſequence, confirm the facts before ſtated, by acknowledging, that your copy was ſent on the morrow, by a workman; as the printer followed up his ſpirited decla-

* See Mr. Chapman's evidence on Pain's trial, Gurney's edition, 86-7, which proves the falſhood of Pain's ſtory.

ration,

ration, that he would have nothing more to do with you. And thus it appears, that you had a *previous intimation*. But, why *conceal* the *quarrel*, when you were ſo circumſtantial about points of leſs importance? You ſhould have recollected, that the witneſs, who ſuppreſſes the truth, is as much to be diſbelieved, as the witneſs who tells an *un*truth.

But, when we ſee the *prevarication* of a witneſs, how are we to judge of the iſſue before us? We muſt believe the ſtory, which is moſt probable, becauſe it is the moſt natural; we muſt diſbelieve what is improbable, becauſe the tale is out of the common courſe of things. Is there, then, any circumſtance more common and natural, than for a printer to give up the work of an author, when he can no longer truſt him, becauſe he had experienced his profligacy? or when he finds any thing dangerous in his book.

Within a week after Mr. Chapman had ſent our author his copy, Pain announced the cauſe of the delay of publication to the public. But, it was a different cauſe from the preſent. In the Gazetteer, of the 25th of January, 1792, Pain publiſhed that, the compoſition being now paſt, the copy was given, a *few weeks ſince*, to *two printers*, who were to print it ſpeedily. They printed about half of it, and then, being *alarmed* by *ſome intimations*, refuſed to go further: But, another printer has taken it; and in the courſe of the next month,

it

it will appear*. Pain has now told *two ſtories*, about the cauſe of the delay, which invalidate each other. In the one account, the copy had been delivered to *one* printer, in September, 1791; in the other account, the copy was delivered to *two* printers, a few weeks before the 25th of January, 1792. In the firſt account, Pain was totally at a loſs to account for the printer's refuſing to continue the work:—In the ſecond account, Pain ſays, that the printers were alarmed by *ſome intimations*, —from the meſſengers of the preſs, no doubt. Which of theſe accounts are we to believe; or ſhall we, after ſuch palpable tergiverſation, believe any account, which is given by Pain?

Yet, let us trace him a little further through the mazes of his ſhifts, that we may judge of his veracity in any caſe. He now tells himſelf, what

* In the Gazetteer of Wedneſday the 25th of January, 1792, appeared the *following notice*, the air, and ſentiments, and ſtyle, of which, plainly demonſtrate the *real author*,

"Mr. PAIN,

"It is known, is to produce another work, this ſeaſon.

"The compoſition of this is now paſt, and it was given, a *few weeks* ſince, to *two printers*, whoſe preſſes it was to go through as ſpeedily as poſſible. They printed about half of it, and then, being alarmed by *ſome intimations*, refuſed to go further. Some delay has thus occurred, but another printer has taken it, and, in the courſe of the next month, it will appear.

"Its title is to be a repetition of the former, "THE RIGHTS OF MAN," of which the words "*Part the Second*" will ſhew that it is a continuation."—None but PAIN could write ſuch an *adverti ſement*,

indeed is likely to be true, that he gave his copy to the printer, in September laſt; let us ſuppoſe the 15th of September: From the 15th of September, to the 17th of January following, there paſſed away *ſixteen* weeks. Now, when the memorable quarrel happened, between the printer and Pain, only *ſeven* ſheets had *paſſed through the preſs*; ſo that more than two weeks were employed on every ſheet *: And, it is a known fact, that Pain kept his proofs frequently a week, often a fortnight, and ſometimes longer. He was all the *ſixteen weeks* caſting about for matter, receiving hints, and waiting for events. He knew that, the writer who gets into a chapter of *miſcellanies*, may go forward, or ſtop ſhort, when he pleaſes. And Pain was plainly watching for a moment of miſfortune, when he might urge diſcontent into fury, by publiſhing his *ſecond part* on ſome factious night. But, the parliament met, without waiting for his publication. The day of triumph paſſed over, while he loitered in the preſs. The nation exulted in her proſperity, while he ſat calculating,

* Before the ſad evening of the fatal quarrel, being the 16th of January, 1792, the ſheet H had been printed: Now, from B to H, there are ſeven ſheets. But the ſheets I and K were alſo ſet up: Now, theſe two may be conſidered, as another ſheet. And, of conſequence, it is proved that, there were no more than *eight* ſheets printed in the *ſixteen* weeks, from the 15th of September, to the 17th of January following. This muſt be allowed to be very *ſlow printing* indeed, when even *two ſheets* a day may be done with eaſe.

with

with arithmetical preciſion, the depth of her diſtreſſes, and the benefits, but not the miſeries, of anarchy.

It was owing to the foregoing cauſes, that our anarch, who had returned his proof ſheets ſo ſlowly before, was now obliged to accelerate the preſs. He was compelled to perform a harder taſk; to find plauſible reaſons for poſtponing his work, till the unpropitious day of general ſatisfaction. The book would have been publiſhed before the meeting of Parliament, he tells *, "had the work appeared at the time the printer had engaged to finiſh it." But this aſſertion, as we have already ſhewn, cannot be true: for no printer can perform his engagement, if the author return not *the proofs*; and no printer can be benefited, by the ſtanding ſtill of his preſs. Yet Pain will have us † believe, that the printer was induced to diſappoint him, by a ſtronger motive than *intereſt*. Mr. Chapman had offered him, about the middle of September laſt, when he was beginning to print *part the ſecond*, a thouſand pounds for the copy-right of *Rights of Man*; parts the ſecond and firſt. Mr. Pain declined to accept of this offer: and when he ought to aſſign reaſons of ſome plauſibility, he relies on *a conjecture*; that becauſe the printer's offer was rejected, he did not perform his engagement. The fact is, that the offer was made and declined, *two months before*

* Page 178. † See p. 177.

the time aſſigned by Mr. Pain; when the fourth edition of the firſt part was ſold and ſettled for; when *the ſocieties for revolutions* were propagating the book; when every body ſeemed to be *elevated and ſurpriſed*; and when *his* LIFE had not yet been expoſed to the world. Of Pain's *conjecture*, then, while he conceals the *quarrel*, which was the *true cauſe*, we may fairly obſerve,

> " This was a *ſleight* well-maſk'd; oh what is man,"
> " Unleſs he be a politician!"

But Pain has another *ſleight*, which is not ſo well *maſked*. He tells in page 177, that the printer allowed a bookſeller to ſee the ſheets of his work, containing his projects, who communicated what he ſaw to a clerk in an office, who told what he heard to the *miniſter's door-keeper's friend's friend*. He allows, however, in page 177, " that this is more than he has authority to ſay." But *without authority*, he ſtates all this. Why;—

> " When a gentleman is diſpoſed to ſwear, it is not
> " For any ſtanders-by to curtail his oaths."

Thus *he ſwears*, through his whole book, by aſſerting roundly what he ought to prove ſufficiently; by expecting the reader to believe, without proof, and without a reaſon. He, on this occaſion, *ſuppoſes firſt*, that the printer, who is noted for carefulneſs, and who, till the fatal quarrel, was attached to the author with the zeal of a friend,

friend, allowed the bookſeller to ſee the ſheets. He *ſuppoſes ſecondly*, that the bookſeller, knowing where the work was printing, gave up *a dudgeon*, which never exiſted, to get into the printer's houſe, and being in the houſe, found his way into the workſhop, and being in the workſhop, he found our author's ſheets, there being no other author's ſheets in a large printing-houſe, which he attentively read, before the whole workmen. And laſtly, Pain *ſuppoſes*, what indeed he admits in page 178, to be only *common report*, that the beforementioned clerk might have learned from the bookſeller what he had read in the ſheets, and the clerk might have faithfully communicated the *budget* to *the miniſter's door-keeper's friend's friend*. Now, gentle reader, doſt thou require any ſtronger proofs? For the rule of reaſon is this: To diſbelieve wholly what is improbable; to believe eaſily what is probable. If we were allowed *to ſuppoſe*, we would conjecture, that when our author had read *the ſpeech* from *the throne*, and the *parliamentary ſpeeches* thereupon, he cancelled half-a-ſheet, with the artifice of authorſhip, and inſerted as much from both as ſuited his previous plan and his ſubſequent ſtory. But we will not conjecture, whether Pain may not with

> "Lawyers, and merchants, ſome divines, and all,
> "Count *beneficial perjury* a ſin, ſmall."

The ſelf-importance of *his ſubſequent ſtory*, and the frequent recurrence, through the pamphlet, of the ſelf-important *I*, naturally bring before the

reader, that important perſonage, P. P. the pariſh clerk, who, in order to prove his own importance, gave the following account of his conſults with his friends, his plans, and proceedings: "Now were the eyes of all the pariſh upon theſe our weekly councils. In a ſhort ſpace, the miniſter came among us: he ſpake concerning us and our councils, to a multitude of other miniſters at the viſitation, and they ſpake thereof to the miniſters at London, ſo that even the biſhops heard and marvelled thereat. Moreover, Sir Thomas, member of parliament, ſpake of the ſame to other members of parliament, who ſpake thereof unto the peers of the realm. Lo! thus did our councils enter into the hearts of our generals and our lawgivers; and from henceforth, even as we deviſed, thus did they."

Thus have we *reviewed Rights of Man*, part the *ſecond*, with a minuteneſs, that we owed to the importance of the ſubject, and to the gratification of the reader. We have endeavoured, by various ſpecimens of ſtyle, ſentiment, and manner, to enable every one to form a judgment of Pain's *morals*, as a man; of his talents, as a writer; and of his purpoſe, as a politician. It muſt, indeed, be allowed, that

> "He hates unworthily, that by rote contemns;
> "For, the name neither ſaves, nor yet condemns."

Of *Rights* of *Man*, part the ſecond, five thouſand copies were originally printed. But, notwithſtanding

ſtanding every art to raiſe curioſity, this did not, for ſome weeks, ſell with the rapidity of the firſt part. The Revolution Societies did not immediately diſperſe *Rights* of *Man* by avowed advertiſement. They had been told, it ſeems, by the periodical publications, that to patronize profligacy, and to propagate falſhood, would degrade the Engliſh character. It was the *Mancheſter Conſtitutional Society*, with Thomas Walker, Eſq; for its preſident, and Samuel Jackſon, for its ſecretary, which, on the 13th of March, 1792, firſt thanked Pain for his publication; and recommended his work, *as of the higheſt importance to every nation under heaven* *. Other ſocieties followed the example of Walker and Jackſon, who have been ſufficiently reprobated by their fellow citizens. Cheap editions were actively diſtributed over the whole nation. The ſhops ſent out *Rights of Man* as wrappers for the ſweet-meats of children, and for the tobacco of men. When turbulent ſpirits propagate by every artifice, the writings of a man, whoſe chief end is to promote univerſal anarchy, it then becomes apparent, that

> " Sedition walks
> " With claws bow'd in, and a cloſe mouth, which only
> " She keeps for opportunity of prey."

Our anarch, however, takes no great pains *to walk with his claws bowed in*, or with *a cloſe mouth*. When Pain heard, at the houſe of Doctor Hammond, of the aſſaſſination of the King of Sweden,

* See the Morning Chronicle of March 19, 1792.

in

in March, 1792, he exclaimed with characteriſtic exultation: *aye*, you ſee, *crowns are melting away!* and added, with explanatory archneſs, *there is a kettle boiling in this country.* Our *king-killer* might have properly ſubjoined,—

"I am the caitiff that——
"——Though I kill'd him not, I am the cauſe
"His death was ſo effected."

Pain retired, about the 4th of April, 1792, from *boiling his kettle* in *Fetter-lane*, to Bromley, in Kent, where he might unſeen, light his fires for *melting crowns* in England. He was invited thither, by his congenial friend, Mr. W. Sharp, the engraver, who is an excellent artiſt, but is a Swedenborgian, in religion, and a Jacobin, in politics. Sharp was already a lodger in the houſe of Joſeph Tanner; and Pain became the inmate of Sharp, who paid his lodging and board, for the purpoſe of concealing his character and his name. Here, Pain behaved quietly, without complaining of his fare; drinking chiefly gin and water, of which he ſometimes took copious draughts. He converſed very little with Tanner, or his wife; but with Sharp's apprentices, who came down occaſionally, and who thought differently about politics, he had warm diſputes, without making apparent proſelytes. He went ſeldom into the town; but walked much into the fields, and often in the garden behind the houſe; when, by uncouth geſticulations, he attracted the notice of the neighbouring ſchoolboys. He appeared generally in a thoughtful poſture, as if——

——"Some

——— " Some ſtrange commotion
" Were in his brain: He bites his lips and ſtarts;
" Stops on a ſudden;—looks upon the ground;
" Then lays his finger on his temple;—ſtrait
" Springs out into a faſt gait, then ſtops again,
" Strikes his breaſt hard, and then anon he caſts
" His eyes againſt the moon."———

In the midſt of theſe reveries, he made frequent excurſions to London. He attended the anniverſary meeting of the Conſtitutional Society, on the 13th of April, 1792, at the London Tavern, as one of the ſtewards. At this time and place, an event happened, which proves, that whatever profit Pain may have made by his publications, he makes no haſte to pay the debts, which he had contracted formerly, as a ſtay-maker, or recently, as a ſtateſman. For his note of hand to the aſſignees of Whiteſide, the bankrupt, which we may remember he gave, when he was releaſed from Armſtrong's ſponging-houſe, he was now arreſted. He, who ſo loudly inculcates, that we have no exiſting law, was ſeized ſo ſecretly, by the officers of the law, that the ſociety knew nothing of their ſteward's arreſtment. From the tavern, he was carried along the ſtreet, by Wild, the bailiff, to the King's Head ſponging-houſe, in Wood-ſtreet, wherein he was locked up, on account of his diſhoneſty, rather than his want. He was ſoon releaſed by Mr. Joſeph Johnſon, a bookſeller in St. Paul's Church-yard, and Mr. George Wilkie, a neighbouring bookſeller, who became his bail. Mr. Wilkie man-

fully diſavowed in the newſpapers, that he had any connection with ſuch a character as Pain, for whom he became bail, merely to oblige Mr. Johnſon. When *our priſoner* returned to Bromley, he ſhewed his friend Sharp the newſpaper account of his own arreſt; exclaiming, artfully, as if he had not been the party arreſted, *What lies the newſpapers will tell!*

Wherever he may be, our anarch ſeldom forgets the great object of his life. His avowed deſign is to deſtroy all law; and he exerted his whole induſtry in forming Jacobin Societies, in every part of Great Britain. We may judge of his diligence and ſucceſs, by what was ſtated at the anniverſary meeting of the Conſtitutional Society, on the 13th of April, 1792, "That the members of theſe ſocieties exceeded *forty thouſand* perſons *."

This diligence and ſucceſs alarmed the country, and incited the attention of government at length. Now, *forty thouſand* perſons, who were zealouſly aſſociated for the avowed purpoſe of overturning the conſtitution, formed, indeed, objects ſufficiently alarming. A proſecution was therefore commenced againſt Jordan, the publiſher of *Rights of Man*, on the 14th of May, 1792. A proſecution was begun againſt Pain, as the author, on the 21ſt of May. And on the ſame day, the royal proclamation was iſſued; reciting that ſeditious writings had been induſtriouſly diſperſed for inciting diſcontent; and

* See the Morning Chronicle of the 14th of April, 1792.

warning

warning all magiſtrates to be diligent in ſuppreſſing tumult, and preſerving quiet. Both houſes of Parliament declared their abhorrence of writings, which had anarchy for their end, and proclaimed their unalterable reſolution, to maintain the authority of the laws. The City of London avowed her loyalty to the King and attachment to the conſtitution. The other corporations followed the example of the metropolis. And the county meetings joined in the general abhorrence of innovation, and in the univerſal determination, to ſupport the wiſe ſyſtem of policy, that had been tranſmitted by the wiſdom of their anceſtors. Pain could not be perſuaded, that theſe various declarations conveyed the ſenſe of the nation, though ſuch declarations be the only organs, through which the public voice is ever heard in Britain, when it ſpeaks in the moſt deciſive tone.

Horn Tooke himſelf carried down the royal proclamation to Pain, at Bromley, where meaſures were concerted for counteracting its effects, by ſtifling the public voice, which was ſo contrary to our anarch's expectations, and ſo deſtructive of his hopes. Pain addreſſed letters to the county meetings, which were received either with ſcorn, or neglect. One of his epiſtles, Horn Tooke preſented to the Surry county-meeting, when he was hooted from the ſtage, by marked indignation. Yet, theſe pertinacious politicians would not be-

lieve, that the public voice reprobated their writings, and diſavowed their deſigns.

In the midſt of theſe exertions of uncommon factiouſneſs, Tanner diſcovered the name and character of his inmate, by a letter, which was addreſſed to him, from Thomas Walker, of Manchester, inviting Pain to eat cold beef with Walker, in Smithfield. Tanner thought it is duty, as a good ſubject, and as he had been commanded by the King's proclamation, to communicate his diſcoveries to Mr. George Norman, the neareſt magiſtrate. Being thus detected at Bromley, Pain found it neceſſary, about the 27th of May, 1792, to return again to the obſcurities of FETTER-LANE.

Pain now buſied himſelf in writing thoſe letters for the ARGUS, which were afterwards diſtributed from the pamphlet-ſhops, under the title of *Pain's Four Letters on Government*. "*They come*, ſays he, in the opening of his correſpondence, *from* a heart *that knows not how to beguile.*" This is ſaid by him, who had *beguiled* Mr. Grace, at Dover, of his money; who had *beguiled* his cuſtomers at Sandwich; who had *beguiled* his wife of her dues at Lewes; and who had *beguiled* the exciſe for a dozen years together:—

"Ah! that *deceit* ſhould ſteal ſuch gentle ſhape,
"And with a virtuous vizor hide deep vice!"

Yet, with this *virtuous vizor* on his face, he carries his pretenſions beyond the limits of his own modeſty.

deſty. There is not to be found, he aſſerts, in any writings on government, a ſtronger inculcation of moral principles, than in thoſe which he had publiſhed. The anarch, who actively inculcates the violation of every eſtabliſhed right, is, according to his claim, the great inculcator of moral principles. The reader is thus warned to—

——" Beware of yonder dog;
" Look, when he fawns, he bites; and when he bites,
" His venom tooth will rankle to the death!"

Our *dog* proceeded on to *fawn* and *bite* through the news-papers; to retail the ſame miſrepreſentations and aſſumptions, which he had ſold by wholeſale in *Rights of Man*, and which having been already expoſed to the public contempt, no longer attracted the public eye.

Notwithſtanding the efforts of Pain, which only induced conſiderate men to

——" Think him as a ſerpent's egg,
" Which hatch'd, would in his kind grow miſchievous,"

and to watch his deeds, though the current of the nation continued to run towards the conſtitution. Meantime, our anarch was not inattentive or idle. And in order to ſtop that current, he wrote *A letter to the addreſſers on the late proclamation.* This is a pamphlet of ſeventy-eight pages, which is written in his uſual ſtyle and manner, without any novelty to ſoften his coarſeneſs, or any information to atone for his boaſts of ſuperior knowledge.

The great object of his *Letter to the Addreſſers* is to procure a *National Convention*, in contempt of the Parliament. If he could only obtain what would certainly create a civil war, he would willingly, he declares, "live the life of a libeller, and have the name of a libeller engraven on his tomb." Pain, as the writer of *Rights of Man*, has been found guilty, as a *libeller*.—Symonds, as the publiſher of the *cheap edition* of *Rights of Man*, has been found guilty as a libeller. Holland, the ſeller of Pain's *Letter to the Addreſſers*, has been found guilty as a libeller. Hence, Pain's writings are all libels in the ſenſe of the Engliſh law, and are all criminal in the judgment of the Engliſh juries.

Pain and his patrons have been finely deſcribed by our great poet, as—

"Scambling, outfacing, faſhion-mong'ring men,
"That lye, and cog, and flout, deprave, and ſlander;
"Go antickly, and ſhow an outward hideouſneſs;
"And ſpeak off half a dozen dangerous words."

Of *dangerous words* our anarch ſoon uttered more than *half a dozen*. On the 6th of July, 1792, he wrote to the Conſtitutional Society, that the ſale of *Rights of Man* had then produced upwards of *one thouſand pounds* profit; and he requeſted, that the ſociety would accept of it, [one thouſand pounds] in truſt, for ſuch purpoſes as the ſociety might think proper. Thus, he who is frequently the inhabitant of a ſponging-houſe gives a donation of a thouſand pounds, for the avowed purpoſe of

of conſtitutional innovation. All other moraliſts inculcate; "Be juſt before you are generous." Our boaſtful moraliſt gave a memorable example of being generous without being juſt. In this manner,—

"'Tis too much proved, that with devotion's viſage,
"And pious action, we do ſugar o'er
"The devil himſelf."———

With *devotion's viſage*, and *pious action*, our anarch concluded his *ſugar'd* epiſtle to the Conſtitutional Society, in the ſame ſtrain of ridiculous generoſity; that he

"Might ſeem a ſaint, when moſt he play'd the devil."

"I have now done by the people of England, the ſame as I did by the people of America, and I ſincerely wiſh them the ſame happineſs *." We have ſeen the miſerable anarchy, in which Pain left the Americans. It muſt indeed be allowed, that it was no fault of his, if he did not leave the Britiſh dominions in a ſtate of greater anarchy.

His donation to the Conſtitutional Society, who ſent a thouſand pounds to the Convention at Paris, when tranſlated into Engliſh, amounts to the wiſh of the enraged Northumberland:

———"Let order die!
——"Let one ſpirit of the firſt-born Cain
"Reign in all boſoms, that, each heart being ſet
"On bloody courſes, the rude ſcene may end,
"And darkneſs be the burier of the dead."

* See Pain's letter to the Conſtitutional Society, in the Morning Chronicle, of the 9th of July, 1792.

In

In proportion as Pain's exertions were deſtructive of the happineſs of Britain, his ſeditious efforts were rewarded by France. He was adopted as a proper citizen by a country, which had plunged into the depths of anarchy. When the Jacobin clubs were about to form a Convention at Paris, of turbulent ſpirits from every quarter of the world, ſeveral departments contended for the honour of being repreſented by Pain. Calais ſeems to have carried the prize from all her competitors. And ſhe ſent *citizen* AUDIBERT to notify his appointment, and to ſolicit his acceptance.

Our anarch was too much gratified by the intended honour to require much ſolicitation. On the 13th of September, 1792, he bade a laſt farewell to the purlieus of FETTER-LANE. With the *attorney* Froſt, and *citizen* Audibert, he went into a poſt-chaiſe at Blackfriars Bridge, and drove away for France. When they had reached Canterbury, they ſeemed to ſuſpect, that an evil ſpirit purſued them. They were by this ſuſpicion, induced to take the way to Sandwich, rather than the road to Dover. They ſoon lighted at the Bell Inn, at Sandwich, where the diſhoneſt ſtay-maker, the ſwindling tradeſman, and the cruel huſband, was immediately recognized; and he found it neceſſary to drive off with ſpeed for Dover. Here too was he recognized as the ſame ſtay-maker, who in 1758, had beguiled honeſt Grace of his money, and his daughter of her heart. The cuſtom-houſe officers,

officers, who ſeem to have heard, that the great anarch of the age was on his way to France, ſearched his trunk for articles of prohibited export with unuſual ſtrictneſs.

Owing to theſe cauſes, was he obliged to ſkulk at Dover, till the packet carried him to Calais. In this manner was Pain driven away by popular indignation from England, and received with popular applauſe in France.

On the 14th of September, 1792, Calais moved from her place to meet the far-famed object of her choice. The Mayor addreſſed to Pain a ſpeech, which he did not underſtand; and Pain returned to the Mayor an anſwer, which he ſtill leſs underſtood. By geſticulations, however, they made each other comprehend, that Calais rejoiced in the honour of ſuch a repreſentative, while Pain, laying his hand on his heart, rejoined:——

——"I will through and through
"Cleanſe the foul body of th' infected world,
"If they will patiently receive my medicine."

While thus on the road to *cleanſe* the *world*, our phyſician found leiſure to write the Secretary of State an account of his adventures at Dover; ſuppoſing that the rigorous ſearch of Cuſtom-houſe officers was ſufficiently important to engage two nations in war. Our anarch, ere long, mingled in the tumults of Paris; repeating thoſe appoſite lines;—

——"Not

——" Not ſleep, nor ſanctuary,
" Being naked, ſick; nor fane, nor capitol,
" The prayers of prieſts, nor times of ſacrifices,
" Embarments all of fury, ſhall lift up
" Their rotten privilege and cuſtom 'gainſt
" My hate to Kings."

After ſome expectation, the day at length came, when Pain was to be tried for libelling the *Revolution*, and the *Bill of Rights*, *the legiſlature*, and *the laws*, *the Parliament*, and *the King*, in the ſecond part of *Rights of Man*. The Engliſh Jacobins had, mean time, propagated, *that no jury durſt find him guilty*. Our libeliſt had himſelf inculcated through his *Letter to the Addreſſers*, that ſpecial juries were illegal; that no jury was competent to decide on what might relate to the nation; that the Court of King's Bench, and the Court of St. James's were confederated together for obtaining not a verdict againſt his *Rights of Man*, but againſt the rights of England. Having imbibed a ſpirit of greater ſavageneſs from his coadjutors at Paris, he wrote a letter to the Attorney General, on the 11th of November, 1792, threatening him, the judge, and the jury, with aſſaſſination, if they proceeded with his trial.

Yet, he was tried by a ſpecial jury, at the Guildhall, London, on the 18th of December laſt, before Lord Kenyon, the Chief Juſtice. Every circumſtance was proved, beyond the power of contradiction, which was neceſſary to ſupport the proſecution. Several letters of Pain's were read, in which

which he avowed himſelf to be the author of *Rights of Man.* It is one of the improvements of the conſtitution, which was not enjoyed by our fathers, that the culprit is allowed counſel to defend him. On this occaſion, Pain had the benefit of a very able defender, who acknowledged, what could not be denied, that Pain wrote and publiſhed *Rights of Man.* But a defence was *ſet up*, which was entirely new: *That the Attorney-General had brought no proof of what had paſſed in the mind of Pain, when he wrote his book.* You are not to *judge of the tree by its fruit*, but of *the fruit* by *the tree:* In the ſame manner, you are not to judge of a man's mind by his actions, but of his actions by his mind. Thus, it is not ſufficient to prove, that one man killed another, without any provocation, to make out a murder. It is not enough to prove, that a highwayman has taken money on the road; but, it is neceſſary to prove what was paſſing in the mind of the murderer, when he ſtruck the deadly blow, and what was paſſing in the mind of the highwayman, when he preſented his piſtol and demanded the purſe, before their guilt can be proved. And moreover, *if* the murderer, or the robber, *thought* at the time, that he was not committing a murder, or a robbery, he muſt be deemed innocent of the crime. It was not, however, ſaid, how it is poſſible to prove what paſſes in any man's mind, when he performs any action, whether innocent, or criminal. An appeal was now made to the *whole*

tenor of *Pain's Life*, in order to ſatisfy the Jury, that it was not likely PAIN would write a book with any *ſeditious* purpoſe. He may have ſwindled at Sandwich; he may have acted diſhoneſtly in the Exciſe; he may have perjured himſelf when he married at Lewes; he may have committed a felony, on the ſame occaſion, by falſifying a record: But, theſe facts do not make it probable, that Pain had any intent to inſult the King, or overturn the Conſtitution. Nay, it was admitted, that Pain did write his *Common Senſe* in the Colonies, in order to raiſe a rebellion againſt the Mother Country, and ſo to make them independent; yet, this fact does not prove, ſaid his advocate, that he is ſuch a perſon as would write a book in England, to vilify the Revolution and the Bill of Rights; to deny the exiſtence of the Conſtitution and the laws; to confound all rights and all ranks; and ſo to introduce anarchy into a happy land, with all its dire conſequences of commotion and violence, of rapine and murder. And this able defender endeavoured to impreſs on the Jury, that if Pain *thought*, that he was doing no harm, while he wrote *Rights of Man*, however libelous the book may be, yet, he ought not to be found guilty of a libel.—The Jury ſhewed their opinion of *this Defence*, and of Pain's *intentions*, by finding him guilty, without waiting for the reply of the Attorney-General, or the ſumming up of the Judge.

The

The conviction of Pain as a malignant libeller was followed by effects, which were unexpected by himself, and unforeseen by his patrons. He was, ere long, burnt with his books, in almost every village of England, with circumstances, which plainly denoted popular contempt for his doctrines and popular hatred of his person. His conviction made him an *outlaw*. And, having joined with the Convention at Paris, in a declaration of *War* against Great Britain, he became thereby a *traitor*.

What may be Pain's subsequent course or *fate*, it is impossible to foretel. But without the spirit of prophecy, it may be foretold, that in whatever country he may be, or in whatever station he may act, he will carry this *genuine history of his life* along with him, as a badge upon his back, which will announce to all, that as a man, Pain has no *moral* character; and as a writer, that he is entitled to no *literary* fame; that wherever he may be, his great aim is to incite anarchy; but that his power of performance is not always equal to the vigour of his will.

"Mischief attempted, if it want success,
"Is the contriver's punishment; as darts
"Shot at resisting walls, in their return,
"May light on them, that did direct them."

FINIS.

BY AUTHORITY.

This Day is published, in One Volume, Royal Quarto,

Conſiſting of Six Hundred Pages of cloſe Letter Preſs, Pr. 1l. 11s. 6d. in Bds,

Illuſtrated with Seventeen Maps, Charts, Views, and other Embelliſhments, drawn on the Spot, by Captains HUNTER and BRADLEY, and Lieut. DAWES,

AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS AT PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND,

With the Diſcoveries which have been made in NEW SOUTH WALES, and in the Southern Ocean, ſince the Publication of PHILLIP's VOYAGE, compiled from the Official Papers;

Including the Journals of Governors PHILLIP and KING, and of Lieut. BALL; and the Voyages from the firſt Sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the Return of that Ship's Company to England in 1792.

By JOHN HUNTER, Eſq;

POST CAPTAIN IN HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY.

LONDON: Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A Liſt of the PLATES in the above WORK.

1. A Portrait of Captain Hunter,
2. Vignette on the Title Page of a Native Woman and Child in Diſtreſs,
3. A large Map of New South Wales, ſhewing the River Hawkeſbury and every Part of that Country hitherto explored, by Lieut. Dawes,
4. A large Chart of Botany-Bay, Port Jackſon, and Broken Bay, with the intermediate Coaſt and Soundings, ſurveyed by Capt. Hunter,
5. The Southern Hemiſphere, ſhewing the Track of the Syrius,
6. A new Plan of Norfolk-Iſland, by Captain Bradley,
7. Track of the Waakſamheyd Tranſport, } By Capt. Hunter.
8. A View of the Settlement on Sydney Cove, Port Jackſon, } By Capt. Hunter.
9. A View of the Settlement at Roſe-Hill, } By Capt. Hunter.
10. Canoes of the Admiralty Iſlands, } By Capt. Hunter.
11. A Man of Lord Howe's Groupe, } By Capt. Hunter.
12. Canoes of the Duke of York's-Iſland, } By Capt. Hunter.
13. A Man of the Duke of York's-Iſland } By Capt. Hunter.
14. A Family of New South Wales, by Governor King,
15. Non-Deſcript Shells, of New South Wales, Plate I.
16. Ditto - - - - - - - Plate II.
17. Ditto - - - - - - - Plate III.

*** *A few Copies of the above Work may be had printed on a Superfine, Wove Royal, Price 2l. 2s. in Boards.*